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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL, D.D.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

EDITED BY

RICHARD WILLIAM JELF, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXLVIII.

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A TREATISE

OF

THE SACRAMENTS,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS, WHICH THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, BISHOP JEWEL, PREACHED AT SALISBURY.

I HAVE opened unto you the contents of the Lord's prayer, and shewed you upon whom we ought to call, and what to ask: and the articles of our Christian faith, in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; of the church, of remission of sins, of the resurrection, and of life everlasting, &c. And I have opened unto you the ten commandments, and, in them, what our duty is towards God, towards our prince and magistrates, towards our parents, towards our neighbour, and towards ourselves. All this have I done simply and plainly, without all show of learning, that it might the better sink into our hearts.

Now I think good to speak of the sacraments of the church, that all you may know what they are, because you are all partakers of the holy sacraments. Christ hath ordained them, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the faith, which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters; so do the sacraments witness unto our conscience that God's promises are true, and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known his secret purpose to his church: first, he declareth his mercy by his word; then he

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sealeth it, and assureth it by his sacraments. In the word we have his promises; in the sacraments we see them.

It would require a long time, if I should utter that might be said in this matter: especially in laying open such errors and abuses, as have crept into the church. But I will have regard to this place, and so frame my speech, that the meanest and simplest may reap profit thereby. That you may the better remember it, I will keep this order. I will shew you, what a sacrament is: secondly, who hath ordained them: thirdly, wherefore they were ordained, and what they work in us: fourthly, how many there are: and then I will briefly speak of every of them.

A sacrament is an outward and visible sign, whereby God sealeth up his grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our faith. Saint Augustine saith: *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum:* "A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible." And that we may the better understand him, he telleth us what thing we should call a sign: "A sign is a thing that besides the sight itself, which it offereth to the senses, causeth of itself some other certain thing to come to knowledge." In baptism, the water is the sign; and the thing signified, is the grace of God. We see the water, but the grace of God is invisible: we cannot see it. Moreover he saith: *Signa, cum ad res divinas adhibentur, sacramenta vocantur:* "Signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments." The signification and the substance of the sacrament, is to shew us, how we are washed with the passion of Christ, and how we are fed with the body of Christ. And again: "If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments." And because of this likeness which they have with the things they represent, they be oftentimes termed by the names of the things themselves. Therefore after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise) the sacrament of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ: so the sacrament of faith, is faith.

[De Cons. dist. 2. Sacrificium.]

August. de doctrina Christiana, lib. 2. cap. 1. [lii. 19.]

Ad Marcellinum epist. 5. [li. 412.]

Aug. epist. 23. ad Bonifacium. [li. 267.]

Who hath ordained the sacraments? Not any prelate, not any prince, not any angel, or archangel, but only God himself. For he only hath authority to seal the charter, in

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whose authority only it is to grant it. And only he giveth the pledge, and confirmeth his grace to us, which giveth his grace into our hearts. Chrysostom saith: *Divinum et integrum non esset mysterium, si quicquam ex te adderes:* "The mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it." In the days of Noah, when God determined to be merciful unto his people, and never to drown the whole world with water, he said: "I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a sign of the covenant between me and the earth; and when I shall cover the earth with a cloud, and the bow shall be seen in the cloud, then will I remember my covenant which is between me and you, and between every living thing in flesh, and there shall be no more waters of a flood to destroy all flesh." Hom. 7. in 1 Cor. [x. 51.] Gen. ix. 13.

In like manner, when God would witness and stablish to Abraham, and his seed after him, the promise of his mercy, he himself ordained a sacrament to confirm the same: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee. Let every man child among you be circumcised." Thus God ordained the sacrament of circumcision. This sacrament was a seal of God's promise to Abraham, and a seal of Abraham's faith and obedience towards God. By this sacrament man was bound to the Lord: and by the same sacrament God vouchsafed to bind himself to man. But how is the sacrament formed? of what parts is it made? Augustine saith: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum:* "Join the word of Christ's institution with the sensible creature, and thereof is made a sacrament." Join the word to the creature of water, and thereof is made the sacrament of baptism: take away the word, then what is the water other than water? The word of God and the creature make a sacrament. But why were sacraments ordained? He telleth you: *In nullum nomen religionis, ceu verum, &c.:* "Men cannot be gathered together to the profession of any religion, whether it be true or false, unless they be bound in the fellowship of visible signs or sacraments." The first cause why they were ordained is, that thereby one should acknowledge another, as followers of one household, and members of one body. So was all Israel reckoned the children of Abraham, because of their circumcision; and all such as were Gen. xvii. 10. Tract. 80. in Joh. xiii. [iii. pt. 2. 703.] Lib. 19. contra Faust. cap. 11. [viii. 319.]

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uncircumcised were cut off from the people, and had no part in the commonwealth of Israel, because they were uncircumcised: even as we take them that are not baptized to be none of our brethren, to be no children of God, nor members of his church, because they will not take the sacrament of baptism. Another cause is, to move, instruct, and teach our dull and heavy hearts, by sensible creatures, that so our negligence in not heeding or marking the word of God spoken unto us, might be amended. For if any man have the outward seal, and have not the faith thereof sealed within his heart, it availeth him not: he is but an hypocrite and dissembler. So the circumcision of the foreskin of the flesh taught them to mortify their fleshly affections, and to cut off the thoughts and devices of their wicked hearts. Therefore said Stephen to the Jews, "Ye stiffnecked and of uncircumcised hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Ghost."

Acts vii. 51.

So, when in baptism our bodies are washed with water, we are taught that our souls are washed in the blood of Christ. The outward washing or sprinkling doth represent the sprinkling and washing which is wrought within us: the water doth signify the blood of Christ. If we were nothing else but soul, he would give us his grace barely and alone, without joining it to any creature, as he doth to his angels: but seeing our spirit is drowned in our body, and our flesh doth make our understanding dull; therefore we receive his grace by sensible things.

Hom. 7. in 1 Cor. [x. 51.]

Chrysostom saith: *Aliter ego, et aliter incredulus disponitur. Ille cum, &c.:* "I am otherwise affected, than is he which believeth not. When he heareth of the water of baptism, he thinketh it is nothing else but water: but I see (not the creature only, which mine eyes do see, but also) the cleansing of my soul by the Holy Ghost. He thinketh that my body only is washed: I believe that my soul is thereby made pure and holy: and withal, I consider Christ's burial, his resurrection, our sanctification, righteousness, redemption, adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the Spirit[1]." For I judge not of the things I see by my bodily eyes, but by the eyes of my mind.

[1] [S. Chrysost. See the original printed, vol. ii. p. 358. note [54]; and vol. iii. p. 4. note [1].]

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When one that is unlearned, and cannot read, looketh upon a book, be the book never so true, never so well written, yet because he knoweth not the letters, and cannot read, he looketh upon it in vain. He may turn over all the leaves, and look upon all, and see nothing: but another that can read, and hath judgment to understand, considereth the whole story, the doughty deeds, grave counsels, discreet answers, examples, promises, threatenings, the very drift and meaning of him that wrote it. So do the faithful receive the fruit and comfort by the sacraments, which the wicked and ungodly neither consider nor receive. Thus do the sacraments lead us and instruct us to behold the secret and unknown mercies of God, and to carry ourselves to the obedience of his will. And this is the other cause why sacraments were ordained.

Thirdly, they are seals and confirmations of God's promise. St. Paul saith: "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had when he was uncircumcised." By these, we stop the mouth of heretics. For if they deny that our Lord Jesus Christ was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification; we shew them our sacraments, that they were ordained to put us in remembrance of Christ, and that by the use of them, we shew the Lord's death till he come. We tell them, these are proofs and signs, that Christ suffered death for us on the cross. As Chrysostom saith: "Laying out these mysteries, we stop their mouths [2]." Rom. iv. 11. Chrys. in Mat. hom. 83. [vii. 783.]

What? are they nothing else but bare and naked signs? God forbid. They are the seals of God, heavenly tokens, and signs of the grace, and righteousness, and mercy given and imputed to us. Circumcision was not a bare sign. "That is not circumcision, which is outward in the flesh," saith Paul, "but the circumcision of the heart." And again: "In Christ ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ." Even so is not baptism any bare sign. *Baptisma ejus*, saith Chrysostom, *etiam passio ejus est*: "Christ's baptism is Christ's passion [3]." They are not bare Rom. ii. 28. Coloss. ii. 11. Ad Hebr. hom. 16. [xii. 159.]

[2] [S. Chrys. in Matt. supra ii. 356. note [50].]

[3] [S. Chrysost. in Hebr. supra iii. 362. note [62].]

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signs: it were blasphemy so to say. The grace of God doth always work with his sacraments: but we are taught not to seek that grace in the sign, but to assure ourselves by receiving the sign, that it is given us by the things signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water, we are not fed to eternal life by the bread and wine, but by the precious blood of our Saviour Christ, that lieth hid in these sacraments.

Serm. de cœna Domini. [I. 897.] Bernard saith: *Datur annulus ad investiendum, &c.* "The fashion is to deliver a ring, when seisin and possession of inheritance is given: the ring is a sign of the possession. So that he which hath taken it may say, The ring is nothing, I care not for it: it is the inheritance which I sought for. In like manner, when Christ our Lord drew nigh to his passion, he thought good to give seisin and possession of his grace to his disciples, and that they might receive his invisible grace by some visible sign."

Hom. 35. in Johan. [VIII. 207.] Chrysostom saith:.....*In nobis non simplex* [l. *simpliciter*] *aqua operatur: sed cum accepit gratiam spiritus, abluit omnia peccata:* "Plain or bare water worketh not in us, but, when it hath received the grace of the Holy Ghost, it washeth away all our sins."

Ambr. de Sac. lib. 1. cap. 5. [II. 352. 355.] So saith Ambrose also: *Spiritus Sanctus descendit, et consecrat aquam:* "The Holy Ghost cometh down, and halloweth the water." And, *præsentia Trinitatis adest:* "there is the presence of the Trinity." So saith Cyril: *Quemadmodum viribus ignis aqua, &c.:* "As water thoroughly heat with fire, burneth as well as the fire: so the waters, which wash the body of him that is baptized, are changed into divine power, by the working of the Holy Ghost." So said Leo, sometimes a bishop of Rome: *Dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi, et obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem fecit, ut regeneret unda credentem:* "Christ hath given like preeminence to the water of baptism, as he gave to his mother. For that power of the Highest, and that overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which brought to pass that Mary should bring forth the Saviour of the world, hath also brought to pass that the water should bear anew, or regenerate him that believeth."

Cyril. in Joh. lib. 2. cap. 42. [IV. 147.]

Leo. Serm. 5. de nat. Dom. [I. 155. 160.]

Such opinion had the ancient learned fathers, and such reverend words they used, when they intreated of the sacra-

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ments. For it is not man, but God which worketh by them: yet is it not the creature of bread or water, but the soul of man that receiveth the grace of God. These corruptible creatures need it not: we have need of God's grace. But this is a phrase of speaking. For the power of God, the grace of God, the presence of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the gift of God, are not in the water, but in us. And we were not made, because of the sacraments: but the sacraments were ordained for our sake.

Now for the number of sacraments, how many there be, it may seem somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence. For men's judgments herein have swerved very much: some have said, there are two: others, three: others, four: and others, that there are seven sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in terms, than in the matter. For a sacrament in the manner of speaking which the church useth, and in the writings of the holy scripture, and of ancient fathers, sometimes signifieth properly every such sacrament which Christ hath ordained in the New Testament, for which he hath chosen some certain element, and spoken special words to make it a sacrament, and hath annexed thereto the promise of grace: sometimes it is used in a general kind of taking, and so every mystery set down to teach the people, and many things that indeed and by special property be no sacraments, may nevertheless pass under the general name of a sacrament.

The sacraments instituted by Christ are only two: the sacrament of baptism, and of our Lord's supper, as the ancient learned fathers have made account of them. St. Ambrose, having occasion of purpose to intreat of the sacraments, speaketh but of two. *De sacramentis*, saith he, *quæ accepistis, sermonem adorior:* "I begin to speak of the sacraments which you have received." And yet in his whole treatise, divided into six books, he writeth but of two: his book is extant; if any man doubt this, he may see it[4]. Lib. i. de Sac. cap. i. [ii. 349.]

St. Augustine reckoneth them to be but two: *Hæc sunt ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta:* "These be the two sacraments De Symb. ad Catechumen. [Hom. 2. vi. 562.]

[4] [The book de Sacram. is now considered as the work, not of St. Ambrose, but of a later author; which shews, that this was the belief of times subsequent to the period in which that Father lived.]

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Lib. 3. cap. 9. de doct. Christ. [iii. 49.] of the church[5]." Again he saith: *Quædam pasca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, &c.:* "Our Lord and his apostles have delivered unto us a few sacraments instead of many: and the same in doing most easy, in signification most excellent, in observation most reverend, as is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord." Thus Augustine and Ambrose, unto whom I might also join other ancient fathers, reckon but two sacraments. Let no man then be offended with us for so doing; we do no new thing, but restore the ordinance of Christ, and keep the example of the holy fathers.

What then? do we refuse confirmation, penance, orders, and matrimony? Is there no use of these among us? do we not allow them? Yes. For we do confirm, and teach repentance, and minister holy orders, and account matrimony, and so use it, as an honourable state of life. We visit the sick among us, and anoint them with the precious oil of the mercy of God. But we call not these sacraments, because they have not the like institution. Confirmation was not ordained by Christ: penance hath not any outward element joined to the word: the same may be said of orders. And matrimony was not first instituted by Christ: for God ordained it in paradise long before. But in these two, we have both the element and the institution. In baptism, the element is water; in the Lord's supper, bread and wine. Baptism

Matt. xxviii. 19. hath the word of institution: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The Lord's supper in like manner hath the word

Luke xxii. 19. of institution: "Do this in remembrance of me." Therefore these two are properly and truly called the sacraments of the church, because in them the element is joined to the word, and they take their ordinance of Christ, and be visible signs of invisible grace.

Now, whatsoever lacketh either of these, it is no sacrament. Therefore are not the other five, which are so reckoned, and make up the number of seven, in due signifi-

[5] ["Statim manavit sanguis et "aqua, quæ sunt ecclesiæ gemina "sacramenta." Cave considers this second Hom. de Symb. ad Catechumen. genuine. Not so the Bened. Ed. But the remark in the last note applies here likewise.]

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cation and right meaning taken for sacraments. For in such sort as these are called sacraments, that is, because they signify some holy thing, we shall find a great number of things which the godly learned fathers have called sacraments; and yet, I trow, we must not hold them as sacraments ordained to be kept and continued in the church: for then should there be not seven, but seventeen sacraments.

St. Bernard calleth the washing of the apostles' feet a sacrament: *Ablutio pedum sacramentum est quotidianorum peccatorum:* "The washing of feet is the sacrament of daily sins." Serm. de cœna Dom. [l. 898.] So Leo calleth the cross of Christ a sacrament: *Crux Christi quæ salvandis est impensa fidelibus, et sacramentum est, et exemplum:* "The cross of Christ, which was given to save the faithful, is both a sacrament, and also an example." Serm. 3. de Resur. Dom. [l. 307.] Tertullian calleth the whole state of Christian faith *religionis Christianæ sacramentum:* "the sacrament of Christian religion." Lib. 4. contra Marcion. [p. 414.] St. Hilary in divers places saith: *Sacramentum orationis, sacramentum esuritionis, sacramentum sitis, sacramentum fletus, sacramentum scripturarum:* "The sacrament of prayer, the sacrament of fasting, the sacrament of thirst, the sacrament of weeping, the sacrament of the scriptures[6]." Thus much for the number, that by the institution of Christ there are but two sacraments, as cardinal Bessarion confesseth: *Hæc duo sola sacramenta in evangeliis manifeste tradita legimus:* "We read, that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the gospel." Bessar. de Sacram. Eucharist. [Liturg. du Sainctes, p. 181.]

I will now speak briefly of the sacraments in several, and leave all idle and vain questions, and only lay open so much as is needful and profitable for you to know. Baptism therefore is our regeneration or new birth, whereby we are born anew in Christ, and are made the sons of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven; it is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ. We are all born the children of wrath, and have our part in the offence of Adam. St. Paul saith: "By one man sin entered into the world." Rom. v. 12. Augustine saith: *Non dixit, veniet super eum, sed manet super eum. Respexit originem, &c.:* "Christ said not, it shall come upon him; but it De verbis Apostol. Serm. 14. [v. 1190.]

[6] [St. Hilary, supra vol. i. 377. note [68]. In vol. v. p. 26. several other instances are given.]

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abideth on him: he had regard to our offspring, when he saith, the wrath of God abideth on him. Upon which when the apostle also looked, he said, 'and we ourselves also were sometimes the children of wrath.' That which in Adam was imputed to his offence, and not to be of nature, is now in us, which are come of Adam, become natural."

Psalm li. 5. Therefore saith the prophet, "Behold, I was born in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me." So that we all

Rom. vii. 23. have cause to cry out and moan with St. Paul: "I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Hereof speaketh our Saviour:

John iii. 6. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." And for this cause, saith he,

Ver. 5. "Except a man be born of the water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water and the Spirit. They are the heirs of the promise: the covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said

Gen. xvii. 7. to Abraham: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God unto thee, and to thy seed

Rom. xi. 16. after thee." Therefore saith the apostle: "If the root be

1 Cor. vii. 14. holy, so are the branches." And again: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean: but now are they holy." When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ, that he might

Mark x. 14. touch them, he said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God."

Matt. xviii. 10. And again: "Their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

The kingdom of heaven is of such, saith Christ: not only then of those, but of other like infants, which shall be in all times.

As God took the seed of Abraham to be partakers of the covenant which he gave to Abraham; so he appointed that every man child of eight days old should be circumcised.

Gen. xxi. 4. "And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, when he was eight

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days old, as God had commanded him." May we think that the promise of God hath an end, so that it reacheth not to our children? or might the children of the Jews receive the sign of the covenant, and may not the children of the Christians? Whatsoever was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed unto us. We enjoy the same blessings, and free privilege of God's favour. St. Paul to the Galatians saith: "Know ye, that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham?" Again: "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs by promise." Galat. iii. 7.

Now is the sign of the covenant also changed, and baptism is instead of circumcision, as St. Paul declareth, and calleth them circumcised which are baptized. "In whom" (meaning Christ) "also ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ, in that you are buried with him through baptism." Our Saviour giveth charge to his apostles to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The apostles baptized not only such as professed their belief, but whole households. The keeper of the prison was baptized, with all that belonged unto him. So was Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and his household, and the household of Stephanas. Infants are a part of the church of God: they are the sheep of Christ, and belong to his flock. Why should they not bear the mark of Christ? they have the promise of salvation: why should they not receive the seal whereby it is confirmed unto them? they are of the fellowship of the faithful. Augustine saith: *Ubi ponis parvulos non baptizatos? profecto in numero credentium:* "Where place you young children which are not yet baptized? verily in the number of them that believe[7]." Why then should not they be partakers of the sacrament together with the faithful? Coloss. ii. 11. Acts xvi. 33. *De Verbis Apost. serm.* 1.

And as the children of the faithful by right ought to be baptized; so such others also as were born of unbelieving parents, and were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers from the covenant of promise, and had no hope, if they acknowledge the error in which they lived, and seek the forgiveness of their former sins, may well receive

[7] [There is some mistake in the reference.]

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this sacrament of their regeneration. So when they which
Acts ii. 37. heard Peter "were pricked in their hearts," and said to Peter and the other apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Peter said unto them, "Amend your lives, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." They were buried with Christ by baptism into his death, and made partakers of his blood, and continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship.

Ephes. v. 25. "Christ," saith the apostle, "loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it and cleanse it by the
Titus iii. 5. washing of water through the word." Again: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." For this cause is baptism called salvation, life, regeneration, the forgiveness of sins, the power of God to resurrection, the image and pledge of resurrection, and the weed of immortality. And yet are not these things wrought by the water: for then what need had we of Christ? what good did his passion? what doth the Holy Ghost work in our hearts? what power or force is left to the word of God?

Tract. 80. in Joh. [iii. pt. 2. 703.] Augustine saith: *Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis: nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua?* "Why doth not Christ say, Now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed: saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean? take away the word, and what is water more than water?" It is the covenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. His word declareth his love towards us: and that word is sealed and made good by baptism. Our faith, which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establisheth

De Consecrat. dist. 4. Verus. in us this grace which we receive. As it is said: *Verus baptismus constat non tam, &c.:* "True baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body, as in the faith of the heart.
Acts xv. 9. As the doctrine of the apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By
1 Pet. iii. 21. faith purifying their hearts.' And in another place: 'Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the

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resurrection of Jesus Christ.'" Therefore Hierom saith: "They that receive not baptism with perfect faith, receive the water; but the Holy Ghost they receive not[8]." In Ezech. cap. 16. [iii. 784.]

The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul: but "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son doth cleanse us from all sin." Not the water, but the blood of Christ reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing. Hereof saith Cyprian: *Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum, sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus Sancti est. Verborum solennitas, &c.:* "The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacraments, do properly appertain to the Holy Ghost. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest by the institution of the apostles, work the visible outward sacrament. But touching the substance thereof, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it." St. Ambrose also saith: *Vidisti fontem, vidisti sacerdotem, &c.:* "Thou hast seen the water, thou hast seen the priest .....thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with such sight as man hath: but those things which work and do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen." 1 John i. 7. Cypr. de Baptis. Christi. [app. xciii.] Lib. i. de Sac. cap. 3. [ii. 351.]

Such a change is made in the sacrament of baptism. Through the power of God's working, the water is turned into blood. They that be washed in it receive the remission of sins: their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing: but by the working of God's Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ are thereby assured unto us.

A figure hereof was given at the Red sea. The children of Israel passed through in safety: but Pharaoh and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was given in the ark. The whole world was drowned; but Noah and his family were saved alive: even so in the fountain of baptism, our spiritual Pharaoh the devil is choked: his army, that is, our sins, are drowned, and we saved. The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence and vanities, and

[8] [Supra vol. v. 33. note [28].]

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we abide safe in the ark: God hath chosen us to be a peculiar people to himself: we walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, therefore we are in Christ Jesus, and there is now no condemnation unto us.

Now, touching the minister of this sacrament, whether he be a good man or an evil man, godly or godless, an heretic or a catholic, an idolater or a true worshipper of God; the effect is all one: the value or worthiness of the sacrament dependeth not of man, but of God. Man pronounceth the word, but God settleth our hearts with grace: man toucheth or washeth us with water, but God maketh us clean by the cross of Christ. It is not the minister, but Christ himself, which is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.

Again, whether the infant be signed with the sign of the cross, or be put into the water once or thrice; whether one, or two, or three, or more be godfathers, or witnesses of the baptism, it maketh nothing to the virtue of the sacrament; they are no part thereof: without these, baptism is whole and perfect.

Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 41. [II. 532.] Hereof Gregory saith: *In una fide nihil officit consuetudo ecclesiæ diversa:* "The faith being one, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing." Christ left no order for the use of these things, neither did by his word or example require them. The church of God hath liberty to dispose herein, as may be most fitting for decency and godliness.

Some make doubt of those infants, the children of the faithful, which depart before baptism, whether they be saved or not. What, shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the judgments of God: his mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret; he sheweth mercy unto those upon whom he will have mercy. Who can appoint him, or set him an order what he shall do? It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reverence to be contentious and busy in searching out, or reasoning of matters, which the wisdom of God hath hid from our knowledge.

Yet if any would fain be resolved, he may thus safely reason. It is true, that children are born in sin, and that by the sin of one man death hath entered into the world, and that the reward of sin is death: but who knoweth, if God

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have forgiven them their sin? Who is his counsellor, who knoweth his meaning? Our children are the children of God. He is our God, and the God of our seed. They be under the covenant with us. The soberest way is to speak least, and to leave them to the judgment and mercy of God.

Howbeit, if any should despise, and of wilfulness refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would in no case be baptized, or suffer their children to be baptized; that were damnable. Otherwise the grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the sacrament, that if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. For many have suffered death for God's cause, for their faith in Christ, who never were baptized: yet are they reckoned, and are indeed blessed martyrs. So Valentinianus a Christian emperor died without baptism: yet doth Ambrose commend him, and nothing doubteth but that he is saved. He saith: *Audivi vos dolere, quod non acceperit &c.:* "I have heard that you are grieved, because he took not the sacrament of baptism. Tell me, what other thing is there in us, but our will, and our desire?" Again: "He which was endued with thy Spirit, O God, how might it be, that he should be void of thy grace? Or, if this move you, because the mysteries were not solemnly ministered; are not the martyrs crowned, if they be only novices (that be not yet christened)? But if they be washed in their blood, then is he also washed in his godliness and in his desire." St. Augustine saith: "He is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing that the sacrament signifieth[9]."

Orat. de obit. Valentiniani. [ii. 1188.]

In serm. ad infantes.

Constantinus the Great was the first Christian emperor: yet was not baptized until the time of his death. *Qui, cum Nicomediæ ageret* (saith Theodoretus) *languore gravatus, nec ignorans vitæ hujus incertum, gratiam baptismatis est adeptus:* "Who, when he was at Nicomedia, being grievously sick, and knowing the uncertainty of this life, was baptized." The thief upon the cross was not baptized: yet Christ said unto him, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise." The prophet Jeremy and John Baptist were sanctified in their mothers'

Hist. tripart. lib. 3. cap. 12.

[9] [Supra, vol. ii. 329.]

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wombs. By these few it may appear, that the sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seal and assurance, unto all that receive it, of the grace of God, unless they make themselves unworthy thereof, and that no man may despise this holy ordinance, and keep back his infants from baptism, for in so doing he procureth his own damnation. In time of ignorance many could see this, and acknowledge it, that the outward baptism by water was not necessary unto salvation, so that the children or others, that died without it, were for lack thereof damned. The church hath always received three sorts of baptism: the baptism of the Spirit, or of blood, or of water. If any were prevented by death, or hindered by cruelty or persecution, so that they could not receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of the minister, yet having the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, or making their faith known by their suffering, they were born anew, and baptized. God hath his purpose in us and our children. Before we be born, when we had done neither good nor evil, he hath mercy and compassion on us. Judgment appertaineth unto God. He knoweth who are his. No man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God only. And thus much of the sacrament of baptism, which is the badge and cognizance of every Christian. If any be not baptized, but lacketh the mark of God's fold, we cannot discern him to be one of the flock. If any take not the seal of regeneration, we cannot say, he is born the child of God. This is the ordinary way, let us use it, let us not despise nor forslow to receive the sacraments: they are the means, by which God maketh sure his good will towards us.

It shall not be amiss, to speak a word or two of the naming of your children. Some are herein overseen, they refuse to call their children by the names of holy men and women, because they think it to savour somewhat too much of religion, and therefore either they name them at adventure, having no regard at all, how they be named: or else they give them the names of heathen men, and call them Julius, Cæsar, Hercules, Lucretia, Scipio, or such like. These, although they were notable in wisdom, learning, chastity, boldness, and in conquests; yet were they heathen men, and knew not God. The name is nothing, it commendeth us not to God. Yet

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may a Christian father be ashamed to call his child by the name of such, who were enemies to the cross of Christ.

Chrysostom, a godly father, saith; *Non solum hic parentum monstratur pietas, sed et magna erga pueros diligentia, &c.* "In this thing," that is, in the naming of their children, "both the godliness of the parents, and also their great care for their children is declared. And how have they forthwith and from the beginning taught the children which were born unto them, giving them warning, by the names wherewith they call them, that they should practise virtue! They did not give names at adventure and without reason, as is used now-a-days. For now men say, let the child be called after the name of his grandfather, or great grandfather: but our old fathers did not so. They took all heed to call their children by such names, which should not only provoke them to virtue which carried the names, but should teach all others much wisdom, whosoever should remain many years after them." Again he saith: "See how great understanding they of old time had, that even the women named not their children rashly or by chance, but called them by names that foreshewed such things as might happen after." And of Leah, Jacob's wife, he maketh a special commendation. *Vidisti quomodo non simpliciter, neque temere nomina natis indiderit: vocavit eum Simeon, quoniam audivit (inquit) Dominus:* "See how she nameth not her children simply, nor at adventure: she called him Simeon, because (saith she) the Lord hath heard." Therefore he saith, *Igitur nos ne vulgaria nomina pueris indamus, neque avorum, &c.:* "Let not us therefore give names unto our children that are common names, or because they were the names of our grandfathers or great grandfathers, or of such who have been famous for their parentage: but rather let us call them by the names of such as have excelled in virtue, and have been most faithful towards God." Let them carry the names of the apostles, of the prophets, of the martyrs, of such who have been constant in the faith, and have suffered death for Christ's sake. That so they may be taught by their name to remember whose name they bear, and that they neither speak nor do any thing unworthy of their name.

Hom. 21. in Genesim. [iv. 185.]

Hom. 51. in Gen. [iv. 500.]

Hom. 56. in Gen. [iv. 544.]

Hom. 21. in Gen. [iv. 185.]

As, if any be called John, that he pray for grace, and

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desire to be filled with grace: that he give witness of Christ, that he is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world: that he rebuke vice boldly, as John did in Herod, though he were a mighty prince. Or, if he be called Paul, that he so become a follower of Paul, as Paul was of Christ:
Galat. ii. 20. and say with Paul, "That I might live unto God, I am crucified with Christ. Thus I live, yet not I now, but Christ liveth in me:" and hear Christ speaking unto him as did Paul, and fall
Acts ix. 6. down and say, "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" So let him that is called Thomas touch the bosom of Christ, and handle his wounds, and make a good confession as Thomas did, and say, "My Lord, and my God." Let Matthew forsake his custom, even the deceitful gains of the world, and follow Christ. Let Daniel remember Daniel, and though he should be thrown into the den of lions, or be burnt in the fire, or suffer any cruel torments, yet let him not therefore forsake God, but put his whole trust in him. Thus should our names teach us, that whether we write them, or utter them, or hear them spoken, they may put us in mind of Christian duty and godliness.

The other sacrament of Christ's church is the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which some have called the sacrament of the altar: some the sacrament of the holy table: some the sacrament of bread and wine: but we most properly may call it the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And that we wander not at large, but may stand in certain
Matt. xxvi. 26. ground, I will expound those words of our Saviour: "This is my body:" and, "This is my blood of the new testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins."

This matter these two or three hundred years late past hath been incumbered with many questions and much controversy. Some say, the words are plain. Christ himself spake them: he is almighty, and can do whatsoever he will: he hath not spoken otherwise than he meant: if we expound them by signs and figures, we take away the force of the holy mystery, and make nothing of it: the words must be taken even as they lie, they must not have any other construction. Therefore at this day, many wise men, which yield from other points of superstition, and in many other things receive the truth, stand here, and stick at this, and cannot yield.

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I will declare the whole matter simply, and plainly, and submit myself to the understanding and capacity of all men. That which I will utter herein shall not be of myself, but of the fathers of the church: not of those which have been of later years, but of the most ancient: not of the heretics, but of the most catholic, which ever have been the enemies and confounders of heretics. I will shew the use, and order, and faith of the primitive church which was in the times of the apostles, and of Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Nazianzen, Hierom, Augustine, Chrysostom, and other catholic and godly learned fathers. Let no man regard me, or my speech: I am only a finger: these are clear and bright stars. I do but shew them unto you, and point them, that you may behold them. God give us grace that we may see them truly, and by them be able to guide and to direct our way. Let us lay aside all contention, and quietly hear that shall be spoken. Whatsoever shall be said, if it be true, if it be ancient, if it be catholic, if it be so clear as the sunbeams, let us humble our hearts, and believe it. There is no truth but of God. Whosoever resisteth the truth, resisteth God.

First, I will shew you, that we do truly and indeed eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood. And this shall be the foundation, and key of entrance into all the rest.

Secondly, I will open these words, "This is my body:" and there how, by what sort, in what sense and meaning, the bread is the body of Christ.

Thirdly, that the bread abideth still in former nature and substance as before: even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in baptism.

Fourthly, how the body of Christ is eaten; whether by faith, or with the mouth of our body: and how the body of Christ is present in the sacrament.

Fifthly, What difference is between the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the body of Christ.

Sixthly, how we ought to prepare our minds, and with what faith and devotion we must come to the receiving thereof.

We say, and believe, that we receive the body and blood of Christ truly, and not a figure or sign; but even that body which suffered death on the cross, and that blood which was shed for the forgiveness of sins. So saith Christ: "My flesh John vi. 55.

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is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." And again: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And again: "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me." We say, there is no other substantial food of our souls: and that he is divided among all the faithful; and that he is void of salvation, and the grace of Christ, whosoever is not partaker of his body and blood. This we say, and may not flee from it hereafter.

Yet, lest haply any should be deceived, we say this meat is spiritual, and therefore it must be eaten by faith, and not with the mouth of our body. Augustine saith: *Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? crede, et manducasti:* "Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? believe, and thou hast eaten." And again: *Nolite* [l. *Noli*] *fauces parare, sed cor:* "Prepare not your jaws, but your heart." As material bread nourisheth our body, so doth the body of Christ nourish our soul, and is therefore called bread. *Deus panis* [suppl. *oris*] *intus est animæ meæ*, saith Augustine: "God is the inward bread of my soul." For we receive him, and eat him, and live by him. But hereof hereafter more at large.

Tract. 25. in Johan. [ii. pt. 2. p. 489.]

Serm. 33. in Lucam. [v. 566.]

Confess. lib. i. [cap. 13. i. 77.]

Now, let us consider the words of Christ, "This is my body:" and, "This is my blood." These words, you say, are plain, open, easy, and manifest. So are they: yet, albeit they are plain, they must have a right construction. The plainest words that be, unless they be duly expounded, may breed error. St. John saith: "The word was made flesh." These words are plain: yet of these plain words Apollinaris did breed an heresy. Christ saith, "My father is greater than I." His words are plain: yet did the Arians gather thereof an heresy, that Christ is not equal with his Father. Christ saith of John Baptist: "This is Elias, which was to come." He saith not, he doth signify Elias, but, he is Elias. The words are plain: yet were there some that stood in the maintenance of their error thereby, and said, that the soul of Elias did abide in John Baptist. Christ saith, "If thine eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out, and cast it from thee;" and, "If thy hand or foot cause thee to offend, cut them off, and cast them from thee." The words are plain: yet he meaneth not, that you should pick out your eyes out of your head, nor chop off your hands or feet from your body. John saith of

John i. 14.

John xiv. 28.

Matt. xi. 14.

Matt. xviii. 9.

Matt. v. 30.

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Christ, "He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." These words are plain, yet hereof some raised this error, that children, at the time of their baptism, should be marked in the forehead with a hot burning iron. St. Paul saith: "He hath made him to be sin for us, which knew no sin." The words are plain: yet Christ never sinned. He is the Lamb of God, in whom there is no spot. He is hereby said to be the sacrifice for sin. Christ saith: "They two shall be one flesh;" and, "They are no more two, but one flesh." These words are plain: yet if you try the words by common sense, it is not so; they are not one, but two of several flesh. Christ saith: "You are the salt of the earth: you are the light of the world." The words are plain: yet indeed, the apostles were neither material light, nor material salt. Christ said of Judas: "One of you is a devil." The words are plain: yet Judas in nature and substance was not a devil.

Luke iii. 16. 2 Cor. v. 21. Matt. xix. 5, 6. Matt. v. 13, 14. John vi. 70.

St. Paul saith of Melchisedech: "He was without father, and without mother, without kindred, and hath neither beginning of his days, neither end of his life." These words are plain: yet indeed he had father and mother, and was a man, and was born, and died as other men. So he saith: "The rock was Christ." So Moses saith: "The life of all flesh is his blood." And so is Christ called a lamb, a lion, a worm, a way, a bridegroom, a head, a door, a vine, the light, bread, water, a garment. These speeches, and infinite others the like, are plain, open, and evident: yet are they not true, as the words sound them, and literally. For Christ is not a lamb in substance and nature, but a spiritual lamb. So is he a spiritual garment, spiritual light, spiritual water, and spiritual bread.

Heb. vii. 3. 1 Cor. x. 4. Levit. xvii. 11.

Christ said to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." These words are plain: yet Nicodemus mistook them, and was deceived, and said: "How can a man be born that is old? Can he enter into his mother's womb again, and be born?" Christ meant the spiritual birth of the soul and the spirit, not the natural and corporal birth of the body.

John iii. 3.

And, to come nearer to the matter in hand, when Christ said: "I am the bread which is come down from heaven;"

John vi. 51.

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John vi. 53. and, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" and, "My flesh is meat indeed;" and, "My blood is drink indeed;" "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever;" the Capernaites thought these words plain enough: therefore they say; "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? This is an hard saying, who can hear it?" And they departed away from him. Then said Jesus; "The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life." Upon occasion hereof, St. Augustine writeth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite quod loquutus sum vobis. Non hoc corpus, &c.:* "Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken unto you. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see, neither shall ye drink that blood that they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament: being spiritually understood, it will give you life." Even so Chrysostom: "What is it that he saith, 'The flesh profiteth nothing?' He speaketh it not of flesh indeed; God forbid: but of such which take the things carnally that are spoken. And what is it to understand carnally? Even to take things simply as they be spoken, and to seek no further meaning. For the things which are seen are not so to be judged of: but all mysteries should be considered with inward eyes, that is, spiritually[7]."

In Psal. 98. [iv. 1066.]

In 6. Joh. hom. 46. [viii. 278.]

Ibidem. [*f.* Hom. 45. viii. 270.] Again, upon these words, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever," he saith: *Panem vero sive doctrinam hoc in loco, et salutem, et fidem in se, sive corpus suum dicit: utrumque enim animam fortiorem reddit:* "He calleth bread in this place, either doctrine and salvation and faith in him, or else his body: for either of these maketh the soul stronger."

1 Cor. xi. 27. St. Paul saith: "He that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation." Damnation is a spiritual thing, which is not received in by the mouth, or broken

Luke xxii. 20. with the teeth. So Christ saith: "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." Yet now is not his blood shed any more: for he is risen, and dieth not.

And these words which are so plain, if they be examined, will not be so plain to yield the sense, unto which they are

Ibid. vers. 19. forced. It is written: "He took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is

[7] [S. Chrysost. Supra iii. 21. note 12.]

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my body." This bread is my body. The bread was still bread, and neither flesh nor his body. And, "This cup is the new testament." In due, and right, and open meaning, the cup cannot be the new testament. Here we see, how the words are not all so plain, but must have a reasonable construction. It is a rule in the law; *In fraudem legis facit, qui verbis legis salvis, sententiam ejus circumvenit:* "He doth wrong to the law, that following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the law." De li. et Senatusc. et lon. con. contra.

Origen saith: *Est et in Novo Testamento litera, quæ occidit eum, &c.:* "There is also in the New Testament a letter which killeth him that doth not spiritually understand those things which are spoken. For if he follow this after the letter, where it is said, 'Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood;' this letter killeth." Mark, if ye take the word of Christ barely, and nakedly, and as the letter soundeth, it killeth. St. Augustine saith; *In allegoria omni hæc regula tenenda est, ut pro sententia præsentis loci consideretur, quod per similitudinem dicitur:* "This rule is to be kept in every allegory, that what is spoken by similitude, be weighed by the meaning of the present place." Hierom saith: *Non in verbis scripturarum est evangelium, sed in sensu:* "The gospel is not in the words of scriptures, but in the meaning." And, *Non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis:* "It is not in the outward show, but in the inner marrow: not in the leaves of words, but in the root of reason." When Christ said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again;" the Jews, following the bare letter, did bear false witness against him, saying, "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands." Hom. 7. in Levit. [li. 225.] August. in Psal. 8. [iv. 45.] Hier. in Gal. 1. [iv. 230.] John ii. 19. Mark xiv. 58.

We may not take the letter in all places of the scripture as it lieth. The scriptures stand not in the reading, but in the understanding. By taking the bare letter, the Jews found matter to put Christ to death. Origen saith: "There is a letter in the New Testament which killeth." Jerome saith: "The gospel is not in the words of the scripture, nor in the outward show, nor in the leaves; but in the meaning, in the marrow, and in the root, which are hid, and not open and

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manifest." So that they may not be taken by the bare sound, but must have some other construction.

But what shall be the construction of these words, "This is my body?" Whose interpretation or judgment of them shall stand? The learned men which have been of late years, and which yet live, are suspected. Let us hear the elder ancient fathers, whom there is no cause that any should suspect: they were not sacramentaries, nor Zuinglians, nor Lutherans: they were not divided into any of these sects.

Lib. 4. contra Marcion. [pp. 457. 458.]

Tertullian, an ancient father, who lived more than 1300 years since, expoundeth them thus: *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo; Hoc est corpus meum: id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quæ est phantasma, figuram capere non potest:* "Christ taking the bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body. But a figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth, and indeed. For a void thing, as is a phantasy, can receive no figure."

Hom. 83. in Matth. [vii. 783.]

Chrysostom saith: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacramentum est?* "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrament[8]?"

Hom. 11. in Matth. [op. imperf. vi, App. p. lxiii.]

Again: "The very body of Christ itself is not in the holy vessels, but the mystery or sacrament thereof is there contained[9]."

Aug. cont. Adim. cap. 12. [viii. 124.]

Augustine, against the heretic Adimantus, writeth: *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui:* "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a token of his body."

August. in Psal. 3. [iv. 7.]

And in another place: "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body."

In Matth. cap. 26. [iv. 128.]

St. Hierom saith: "Christ represented the verity of his body."

De iis qui initiantur, cap. 9. [ii. 339.]

St. Ambrose saith: "Before consecration, it is called another kind: after consecration, the body of Christ is signified."

† Ambros. i. Cor. xi. [ii. app. 149.]

And again: "In eating and drinking" (that is, in receiving the holy communion) "we signify the body and blood of Christ that was offered for us."

Gelas. contra Eutych. [Bibl. Patr. v. pt. 3. p. 671.]

So also Gelasius saith: *Imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis in actione mysterio-*

[8] [Chrysost. 83. in Matt.; see supra vol. ii. 356, note [50].]

[9] [Chrysost. op. imperf. supra vol. i. 244, note [88].]

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rum celebratur: "The image and similitude of his body and blood is shewed in the action of the mysteries." It would be overlong to lay forth unto you what other reverend old fathers have written to like effect, and have expounded those words of Christ by such terms as you have heard, of sign, figure, token, image, and likeness. I trust no man be offended: these speeches are not mine own, but the speeches of most ancient fathers, and have been spoken or written, and continued in the church, these 1200, 1300, and wellnear 1400 years, and never condemned in them as false, though many of late times have sought otherwise to understand the words of Christ. The Gloss upon the canons joineth herein with the fathers: *Dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie: ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, &c.:* "It is called the body of Christ, but unproperly: the meaning thereof may be this, It is called Christ's body, that is to say, it signifieth Christ's body." De Con. dist. 2.

Therefore doth St. Augustine give us good and wholesome advertisements: thus he writeth to Bonifacius: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things of which they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments. And of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves that are represented by the sacraments." And again: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be," (in substance and nature,) "but what they signify." Again he saith: "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the sign instead of the thing that is signified." And again: "If it be a speech that commandeth, either by forbidding an horrible wickedness, or requiring that which is profitable, it is not figurative: but if it seem to require horrible wickedness, and to forbid that is good and profitable, it is spoken figuratively. 'Except ye eat' (saith Christ) 'the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' He seemeth to require the doing of that which is horrible, or most wicked: it is a figure, therefore, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." In another place he saith: "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh, than to kill it: and to drink man's blood, than it is to shed it." Again he saith: "We must beware, that we take

Aug. ad Bonif. epist. 23. [II. 267.]

Lib. 3. contra Maxim. [VIII. 725.]

Lib. 3. cap. 5. de doctr. Christ. [III. 47.]

Lib. 3. cap. 16. de doct. Christ. [III. 52.]

Lib. 2. cap. 9. cont. adv. vers. legis et proph. [VIII. 599.]

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Lib. 3. cap. 5. de doctr. Christ. [Ill. 47.]

not a figurative speech according to the letter: for thereto it pertaineth," that the apostle saith, "'the letter killeth.'" Besides that which hath been shewed you out of the godly learned old fathers, how they have expounded these words, whosoever will advisedly consider these principal sentences, or rather rules of St. Augustine, shall be holpen much, and directed to the due and catholic construction and meaning of them.

The next matter, and the third of the six, is, whether the bread and wine abide still in former nature and substance as before, even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the sacrament of baptism. There are some that say, by virtue of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining, but only accidents; that is, a show, and appearance, and likeness of bread. They say, it seemeth to be the same it was, but it is changed: it seemeth to be bread, but it is not bread: and the wine, by the taste and colour, seemeth to be wine, but it is not wine. They say, we may not believe our eyesight, nor stand to the judgment of our senses. They say, Christ is almighty, he spake the word, and all things were made: he hath said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, therefore it is now no more bread, but his body: and that this is the faith of the church, in which we were born and christened.

Indeed, this hath lately been received as a matter of faith. But if we examine it well, we shall find it to be an error, and no point of faith. I say it hath been received of late: for our old fathers never believed it, as I will declare, and prove, and let you see, that it hath not been the catholic faith, nor the faith of primitive church, nor of the apostles of Christ, therefore no faith at all. The opening of this matter will be somewhat dark, and wherewith you have not been acquainted: but give me your attendance, lend me your senses, and I trust by the grace of God I shall make it plain.

They say, the bread is changed, and done away utterly: and that it is no bread, though it seem to be bread: that in this case we may not trust our eyes, but lean to faith. Mark, I say, they tell us, that the bread remaineth not, and for trial hereof they require us not to lean to any other thing than

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faith. We will then close and shut up our senses, and hearken what Christ, what St. Paul, what the holy fathers of the church, who are best able to instruct our faith, have spoken.

St. Paul to the Corinthians, in one piece of a chapter, calleth it *bread* four times. Read the place, ye shall find it so in the eleventh of the first Epistle: "The Lord Jesus in the night that he was betrayed took bread." And, "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come." Again: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And again: "Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup." They say it is not bread; but Paul saith, and so many times saith, it is bread. And of the wine, Christ said after he had given thanks, and it was consecrate, and after his supper, "I will not drink of this fruit of the vine henceforth, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my father's kingdom." The fruit of the vine is wine: therefore the selfsame fruit of the vine, the selfsame wine in substance, did abide still after consecration as before.

1 Cor. xi. 23. Verse 26. Verse 27. Verse 28. Matt. xxvi. 29.

St. Augustine calleth this holy mystery, *Sacramentum* [Ben. leg. *sacrificium*] *panis et vini:* "The sacrament of bread and wine [10]." Justinus Martyr saith: *Diaconi distribuunt unicuique præsentium de pane in quo gratiæ actæ sunt: et de vino et aqua:* [*et*] *ad eos qui non sunt præsentes deferunt:* "The deacons divide unto every one of them that are present part of that bread over which thanks were given: and they carry of the wine and water to such as are not present [11]." Again he saith: *Alimento humido et sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Deus Dei Filius perpessus sit:* "By dry and moist food" (whereby he meaneth the sacrament) "we are taught what things God the Son of God hath suffered for us [12]." What meant he by dry food, but bread? or by moist food, but wine? It cannot be

De fide ad Petr. cap. 19. [vi. app. 30.] [Just. Martyr. in Apol. 1. p. 82.] In Colloq. cum Tryphone. [p. 210. B.]

[10] [S. August. de Fid. ad Petr. This work is not genuine.]

[11] [S. Just. Martyr. See the Greek sup. vol. i. 237. note [72].]

[12] [Coll. S. Justini cum Tryphone: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται.]

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avoided, but that he thought that bread and wine remain after the consecration. He lived 1400 years since. And before him Ignatius: *Unus panis omnibus fractus:* "It is one bread which is broken for all." So Irenæus, who also lived 1400 years since, saith: *Eum calicem, qui est creatura, &c.:* "He made that cup, which is a creature, his body, by which he increaseth our bodies.....Therefore when the cup of mixture, and the bread which is broken, receiveth the word, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is increased and nourished[10]." He saith, after consecration it is a creature, and such a creature as nourisheth the substance of our flesh.

Ignat. ad Philadel. [Russel. ii. 125.]

Adver. hær. lib. 5. [p. 294.]

Origen, who lived wellnigh 1400 years since, saith: *Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, ut in secessum ejicitur:* "The meat which is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy." Certainly, unless bread, in the substance and nature of bread, did remain in the sacrament, these words were too horrible to be spoken. Dionysius saith: *Pontifex opertum panem aperit, et in frusta conscindit:* "The bishop uncovereth the bread that was covered, and cutteth it in pieces[11]." He noteth, that the loaf of the communion was of some bigness, and that the minister, after consecration, divided it, and gave to every man a portion.

In 15. Matth. [iii. 499.]

Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 3. [p. 157.]

St. Cyprian[12] writeth: *Dedit Dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum apostolis participavit convivium, &c.:* "Our Lord, at the table whereat he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave" (not his very body and very blood really, but) "bread and wine: but upon the cross he gave his own body, by the hands of the soldiers, to be wounded." He maketh a difference between that which Christ gave upon the cross, and that which he gave at the table. At the table he gave bread and wine; upon the cross he gave his body and blood. Again he calleth the bread

[Arnoldi] De unctione Chrismatis. [app. cxxv.]

[10] [S. Irenæus: see the original, printed supra vol. iii. p. 9. note 8.]

[11] [Dionys. Pseudo-Areop. supra vol. iii. 120. note 1.]

[12] [The twelve treatises "de cardinalibus Christi operibus," erroneously ascribed to St. Cyprian, were written by Arnoldus Carnotensis (fl. A. D. 1162). Down to that date therefore a writer might hold the language cited in the text, without being considered heretical.]

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after consecration, *Panem ex multorum granorum adunatione congestum:* "Bread made" (not of forms and accidents, but) "of the substance and moulding of many corns." [Id. in Orat. Dominicam. (l. Epist. ad Magnum. p. 153.)]

Ambrose saith: *Quanto magis operatorius est sermo Dei, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur!* "How much more effectual is the word of God, that the bread and wine may be" (in substance and nature) "the same that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing!" They are changed into a sacrament, which they were not before, and remain bread and wine, which they were before. [Lib. 4. cap. 4. de Sacram. (ii. 369.)] Chrysostom saith: *In similitudinem corporis et sanguinis Christi, panem et vinum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, nobis ostendit in sacramento:* "He shewed us in a sacrament bread and wine, after the order of Melchisedech, to be the likeness of the body and blood of Christ [13]." What should I stand to trouble you with the rest? As these say, so say the other: that the things which are seen in the sacrament are bread and wine. [In Psal. 22. (Lat. ed. 1588. i. 701.)]

But, say they, it is called bread, because it was bread, or because it hath a likeness of bread. A pretty shift, but it will not help. For St. Augustine saith: *Quod videtis, panis est, et calix: quod vobis etiam oculi renunciant:* "The thing that you see is the bread and the cup: which thing your eyes do testify [14]." [Aug. ad Infant. (tom. v. p. 1103.)] Gelasius saith: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini. Et certe imago vel similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebratur:* "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread, or the nature of wine. And indeed the image or representation and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is published in the ministration of the mysteries." He saith, it leaveth not, it remaineth, it is still (not the form or appearance, but) the substance and nature. [Cont. Eutych. (Bibl. Patr. v. part. 3. p. 671.)]

Chrysostom saith: *Natura panis in sacramento remanet:* "The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament [15]." [Ad Cæsar. (iii. 744.)] And Theodoretus: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua: manent enim in priori substantia, et figura, et forma:* "The mystical tokens or sacraments, after the con- [Dialog. 2. (tom. iv. 85.)]

[13] [See vol. iii. p. 103, note 91.]

[14] [St. Augustine. See vol. i. p. 242, note 77.]

[15] [For an account of this famous passage see vol. iii. p. 54, note 44. The very jealousy which led the church of Rome to suppress this epistle *even after* it had been printed, is presumptive proof that they saw how much it would tell against them.]

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secration, depart not from their own nature: for they remain still in their former substance, and form, and figure [16]." Not only in form and figure, not only in show, but it remaineth bread and wine in nature and substance. Likewise Cyrillus:

In Joh. lib. 4. cap. 14. [ed. Aubert. c. 2. tom. iv. p. 360.] *Christus fragmenta panis dedit discipulis:* "Christ gave fragments or pieces of bread to his disciples [17]. It was very bread divided into sundry pieces. And Rabanus saith: *Sacramentum ore percipitur.....et in alimentum corporis redigitur:*

Lib. cap. 31. [de instit. Cleric. tom. vi. p. 11.] "The sacrament is received with the mouth, and is turned into the nourishment of the body."

De corp. et sang. Dom. Bertramus saith: *Secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et postea consistunt:* "Touching the substance of the creatures (of bread and wine) they abide the same after, as they were before the consecration."

In Pædag. lib. 2. cap. 2. [i. 186.] Even so saith Clemens: *Vinum esse illud quod benedictum est ostendit, rursus dicens, Non bibam amplius ex hoc germine vitis:* "Christ shewed that that was wine which was blessed, by saying again, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine." I will bring forth no more witnesses in this matter; you have enough, and so many as may satisfy any reasonable man. You see the consent of the old doctors; I know not how any thing may be more plainly set down and declared.

Why then, say you, how came transubstantiation into the church? How it came in, I cannot shew you. The husbandman that findeth his field overgrown with cockle, and ill weeds, knoweth not how they come. They grow of themselves, he soweth them not. But when, or since what time it hath been received and allowed of, I will tell you. It was first determined and enacted in the council of Lateran, under pope Innocentius the Third, in the time of king John, king of England, and in the year of our Lord 1215, that is, 350 years ago, and not before. Then was it first so named, and made a matter of faith, and never before. This I speak not of myself; they that maintain that error confess it; the most learned, and wisest, and sagest of them say it. And yet then was it no catholic faith, for it was only received in the church of Rome; the other churches over all the world received it not, as appeareth by a council holden at Florence. There-

[16] [See this remarkable and conclusive evidence printed supra vol. iii. p. 8, note [6].]

[17] [S. Cyrill. supra, vol. i. p. 242, note [76].]

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fore, if transubstantiation be a matter of faith, it is a new late found faith, and no old and catholic faith. In the time of our great grandfathers it was not so taken. Afterward pope Honorius III. commanded that it should be kept under a canopy, and that the people should worship the sacrament. And after him Urbanus IV. made a new holiday in honour of it, which he called *Corpus Christi day*. And all these things have been done within these few years. For before, in the times of Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, and the old fathers, they were never heard of. But to return to that we have in hand, whether the bread and wine in the sacrament remain in their proper nature: yes verily, for so is it avouched by our Saviour, by St. Paul, by Ignatius, Justinus, Irenæus, Origen, Dionysius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoretus, Cyrillus, Bertramus, and Rabanus. By so many good and lawful witnesses it appeareth, that the bread and wine remain in the same nature and substance as before.

Anno 1226.

Anno 1265.

I seek not to astonish you by bringing in such a heap of authors: nor yet to seek mine own glory thereby, God is my witness, and his Christ. If I would seek mine own commodity, I should hold my peace, and not unfold these errors, wherewith the church of God hath been disquieted these late years. As for glory, I have none in these things: shame come upon them that seek the glory and commendation of men: our glory is to discharge our conscience, and to speak the truth, that we may be blameless in the day of our Lord.

And yet in speaking thus of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and denying the strange and new learning of transubstantiation, and making it known that the bread and wine continue still that they were before, we do not conceive basely or unreverently of the sacrament: we do not make it a bare or naked token. Let no man be deceived. We do both think and speak soberly, and with reverence of the holy mysteries. As we cannot call them more than they are, so may we not esteem them less than they are by the ordinance and institution of Christ.

We say, they are changed; that they have a dignity and preeminence which they had not before; that they are not now common bread, or common wine, but the sacrament of

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the body and blood of Christ: a holy mystery: a covenant between Christ and us: a testimony unto our conscience that Christ is the Lamb of God: a perfect seal and sufficient warrant of God's promises, whereby God bindeth himself to us, and we stand likewise bounden unto God, so as God is our God, and we are his people.

In baptism, the nature and substance of water doth remain still: and yet is not it bare water. It is changed, and made the sacrament of our regeneration. It is water consecrated, and made holy by the blood of Christ. They which are washed therein are not washed with water, but in the blood of the unspotted Lamb. One thing is seen, and another understood. We see the water, but we understand the blood of Christ. Even so we see the bread and wine, but with the eyes of our understanding we look beyond these creatures: we reach our spiritual senses into heaven, and behold the ransom and price of our salvation. We do behold in the sacrament, not what it is, but what it doth signify. When we receive it with due reverence and faith, we say, as said Gregorius Nyssenus: *Ego aliam escam agnosco, quæ, &c.:* "I know another kind of meat, bearing the likeness and resemblance of our bodily meat, the pleasure and sweetness whereof passeth only into the soul." It goeth not into the mouth or belly, but only into the soul, and it feedeth the mind inwardly, as the other outwardly feedeth the body.

De crea. hom. cap. 20. [*al.* cap. 19. tom. I. 95.]

We say as St. Augustine: *Ipse est panis cordis nostri:* "Christ is the bread of our heart." And as St. Basil: *Est spirituale os interioris hominis, quo nutritur recipiens verbum vitæ, quod verbum est panis, qui descendit de cœlo:* "There is a spiritual mouth of the inner man, by which he is nourished by receiving (Christ) the word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven[18]." In this mystery of the death of Christ, his death and passion is renewed to our remembrance. We are so moved to sorrow for our sins, which have been cause of his death; and to be thankful for the great mercy of God, which by this means wrought our redemption, as if we did see him present before our faces hanging upon the cross. We know that Christ hath left his sacraments to his church, that they might be helps to lift us up into heaven. By

In Psal. 48. [iv. 441.] Basil. in Psal. 33. [i. 44.]

[18] [S. Basil in Psalm. xxxiii. See the Greek, printed vol. ii. p. 332, note 28.]

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them we are joined with Christ, and made partakers of his passion.

Next, let us consider, how and after what sort we eat the body of Christ in the sacrament. And here, I beseech you, that you may take the comfort of the body and blood of Christ, to give good ear. For of mistaking this mystery, grew the first error in the church. When the disciples of Christ heard Christ speak of this matter, and understood him not, they were offended, and shrunk back, and departed. If we take the words of Christ in such meaning as they did, we shall be deceived and offended, as they were.

This it is, then, which we have to consider, whether the body of Christ go into our mouth and our bodies, as other meats; or whether it be received spiritually, as a spiritual meat, and so pass into and nourish our soul. Hereof somewhat was said before, by the way, and shortly. But for clearer understanding of the same, we have to weigh and declare, that the eating of the body of Christ is not gross or corporal, but ghostly and spiritual, as a peculiar work of the mind.

The truth hereof is founded in our creed, and is an article of our Christian faith. We believe, that Christ did rise again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God in glory. So saith St. Paul, "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God." And again: "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we also look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ." Christ himself saith to his disciples, "It is expedient for you that I go away:" and, "The poor always ye have with you, but me ye shall not have always." So St. Peter saith, "Whom the heaven must contain, until the time that all things be restored, which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began."

Coloss. iii. 1. Phil. iii. 20. John xvi. 7. John xii. 8. Acts iii. 21.

Which speeches have occasioned the old ancient learned fathers to teach the people after this sort, touching the body of Christ. Vigilius, a godly bishop and martyr[19], saith: *Caro Christi cum esset in terra, non erat in cœlo: et nunc,* [Contra Eutych. lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. viii. p. 733.]

[19] [Vigilius Tapsitanus, not Tridentinus. Supra, vol. ii. 415, note 8.]

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quia est in cœlo, non est utique in terra: "The flesh of Christ, when it was in earth, was not in heaven: and now, because it is in heaven, doubtless it is not in earth." Ambrose saith, "Seek the things that be above, and not the things that be upon earth. Therefore we must seek thee neither upon the earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we list to find thee."

In Luc. lib. 10. cap. 24. [I. 1538.]

Tract. 50. in Joh. [III. pt. 2. 634.]

St. Augustine saith, "According to the flesh that the Word received: according to that he was born of the Virgin: according to that he was taken of the Jews: according to that he was nailed to the cross: according to that he was taken down, and lapt in a shroud, and laid in the grave, and rose again, and shewed himself: in this respect it is true that he said, 'Ye shall not evermore have me with you.'"

De consecrat. dist. 2. [August. III. pt. 2. 517.]

And again he saith: *Donec sæculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, &c.:* "Until the world be ended, the Lord is above: yet notwithstanding even here is the truth of the Lord. For the body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place[20]." So Cyrillus said: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad Patrem:* "Christ could not be conversant together with his disciples in his flesh, after he had ascended unto his Father[21]." It would be tedious to allege all that might be said to like purpose. Thus Christ, and Paul, and Peter: thus Vigilius, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, and all the old catholic fathers say; and we are taught to believe, that Christ is not corporally in the church, but is ascended into heaven, and that he hath given to his body immortality, but hath not taken from the same the nature of a body. Vigilius, having cause to prove this same article against Eutyches, shutteth up the matter thus: *Hæc est fides et professio catholica, quam apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles huc usque custodiunt:* "This is the catholic faith and profession, which the apostles have delivered, the martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful hitherto do continue."

Cyril. in Joh. lib. 11. cap. 3. [IV. 932.]

Vig. contra Eutych. lib. 1. [Bibl. Patr. VIII. 733.]

The body, then, which we eat is in heaven: above all angels, and archangels, and powers, and principalities. Our meat is in heaven on high, and we are here below on the

[20] [See vol. ii. p. 294, note 91.]

[21] [S. Cyrill. supra, vol. ii. 410, note 5.]

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earth. How may it be, that we may reach it, or taste, or eat it? Here let us imagine, that there are two men in every man, and that every man is flesh and spirit, body and soul. This man thus doubled must be furnished with double senses: bodily to serve the body, and spiritual to serve the soul. He must have eyes of the body, and eyes of the soul: ears of the body, and ears of the soul. Spiritual senses are quick, sharp, and lively. They pierce any thing, be it never so thick: they reach any thing, be it never so far off. Christ saith of Abraham, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day: he saw it, and was glad." He saw it, not with his bodily eyes, but with the inner eyes of the soul. John viii. 56.

When we speak of the mystery of Christ, and of eating his body, we must shut up and abandon all our bodily senses. And, as we cannot say that we see him with our bodily eyes, or hear him with our bodily ears, or touch him with bodily feeling: so likewise can we not, and therefore may we not, say, we taste him, or eat him with our bodily mouth. In this work we must open all the inner and spiritual senses of our soul: so shall we not only see his body, but hear him, and feel him, and taste him, and eat him. This is the mouth, and the feeling of faith. By the hand of faith we reach unto him, and by the mouth of faith we receive his body.

Touching the eating of Christ's body, St. Augustine taught the people on this wise: *Crede, et manducasti. Credere in Christum, hoc est manducare panem vivum:* "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ. For believing in Christ, is the eating of the bread of life." Believe that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Believe that there is no other name given unto men, wherein we shall be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ. Believe that he hath paid the ransom for the sins of the whole world. Believe that he hath made peace between God and man. Believe that it is he which hath reconciled all things by his blood. Here is nothing to be done by the mouth of the body. Whosoever thus believeth, he eateth, he drinketh him. Tract. 26. in Johan. [III. pt. 2. 494.]

Clemens saith: *Hoc est bibere sanguinem Jesu, participem esse incorruptionis ejus:* "This is the drinking of the blood of Jesus, to be made partaker of his immortality[22]." Ter- In pædag. lib. 2. cap. 2. [I. 177.]

[22] [S. Clem. Alex. supra, vol. ii. 353, note [47].]

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[Tertull. de Resurr. carn. c. 37. p. 347.] tullian saith: "He must be received in cause of life: he must be devoured by hearing: he must be chewed by understanding: he must be digested by faith." Thus did Christ John vi. 63. himself teach his disciples to understand him, "The words which I speak are spirit and life." St. Hierom therefore In Psalm 147. [ii. pt. 2. 504.] saith: *Quando audimus sermonem Domini,.....caro Christi et sanguis ejus in aures nostras infunditur:* "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears[22]."

The patriarchs and prophets, and people of God, which lived before the birth of Christ, did by faith eat his flesh, and 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. drink his blood. St. Paul saith: "They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink." Whosoever believed in Christ, they were nourished by him then, as we are now. They did not see Christ: he was not yet born: he had not yet a natural body, yet did they eat his body: he had not yet any blood, yet did they drink his blood. They believed that it was he, in whom the promises should be fulfilled, that he should be that blessed seed, in whom all nations should be blessed. Thus they believed, thus they received, and did eat his body.

But, say some, the fathers of the old law were in darkness, in a shadow, and a figure: it was meet they should receive the sacrament spiritually, or the body of our Lord spiritually: but all otherwise with us, unto whose benefit the sacraments of the New Testament work the thing itself that they signify: so that we receive Christ really, bodily, and with the mouth of our bodies.

St. Paul telleth us, the fathers of the old law did eat the same spiritual meat, that is to say, the same Christ, that we Tract. 26. in Johan. [iii. pt. 2. 498.] eat. So saith St. Augustine: *Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa: in rebus quæ significabantur, paria:* "These things were sacraments, in the outward tokens divers, but in the things signified, all one with ours." Likewise saith Leo: De nativi. Dom. ser. 3. [i. 151.] *Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata (sunt): quum fides, qua vivimus, nulla fuerit ætate diversa:* "The sacraments are altered according to the diversity of times: but the faith whereby we live was ever in all ages one." If they did eat

[22] [The Breviar. in Psalm. is only partially genuine.]

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the same meat; if the things, that is, the matter of their sacraments were all one with ours; if their faith was all one with our faith: what difference is there between their and our eating? As they did eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of the body: so we eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of our body.

To make this somewhat more evident, let us take the judgment of the fathers. They teach us plainly, that the spiritual eating of Christ's body by faith is the true eating: and that we do not grossly, fleshly, really, or naturally eat him in the sacrament. St. Cyprian saith, the body of Christ *est cibus mentis, non ventris:* "It is meat for the mind, not for the belly[23]:" not for the teeth to chew, but for the soul to believe. Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum, hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose inducens:* "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithful in ungodly manner to gross" or fleshly "cogitations[24]." Athanasius saith: *Quot hominibus suffecisset corpus ejus, &c.:* "Unto how many men could Christ's body have sufficed, that he should be the food of all the world? Therefore he made mention of his ascension into heaven, that he might withdraw them from corporal and fleshly understanding[25]." What thing may be spoken more plainly? it were unpossible his natural body naturally received might suffice all the world: to let them see he had no such meaning, he speaketh of his going up into heaven. Spiritually then, he is received of every one, and is digested, and becometh the nourishment of all the world.

Cypr. [Arnold.] de cœnaDomini. [App. cxiv.]

Ad obje. Theodo. anath. 11. [ed. Basil. 1546. iv. 215.]

In illud Evan. Quicunque dixerit verbum. [Tom. i. pt. 2. p. 710.]

St. Augustine expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread shall not die," saith thus: *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente:* "That pertaineth to the virtue and effect of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, and not he that eateth outwardly: that eateth with his heart, not that bruiseth (the sacrament) with his tooth." Thus is Christ's body received, as these holy fathers say: not to the filling our contentation

Tract. 26. in Joh. [III. pt. 2. 499.]

[23] [Supra, vol. v. p. 172, note 4.] [24] [S. Cyrill. Alex. vol. i. 243, note 78.] [25] [S. Athanasius, supra, vol. ii. 354, note 49.]

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of the body, not with mouth or tooth, but with spirit and faith, unto the holiness, and sanctification of the mind. After this sort we eat his flesh, and drink his blood.

Therefore wicked men, and such as believe not, receive not the body of Christ: they have no portion in it. So saith Origen: *Est cibus verus,.....quem nemo malus potest edere, &c.:* "The body of Christ is the true food, which no evil man can eat: for, if the evil man could eat the body of our Lord, it should not be written, 'he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.'" Ambrose saith: *Hunc panem qui manducaverit, non esuriet:.....est esca sanctorum: non morietur morte peccatoris, quia remissio peccatorum est:* "He that eateth this bread shall not hunger: it is the food of those that are holy. He shall not die the death of a sinner: because it is the remission of sins." St. Augustine saith: *Qui discordat a* [leg. *Qui non manet in*] *Christo, nec panem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit, &c.:* "Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood: although he daily receive the sacrament of so great a thing without difference, to the judgment of his presumption." And again: *Qui in me non manet, &c.:* "He that abideth not in me, and in whom I do not abide, let him not say, or think, that he either eateth my body, or drinketh my blood." And again: *Cæcus interius panem Christum non videt. Et beatus est? Hoc non dicet, nisi pariter cæcus:* "He that is blind in his heart within, seeth not Christ that is our bread. And is he blessed? No man will say so, unless it be one as blind as he."

Orig. in 15. Mat. [iii. 500.]

De bened. Patriarch. cap. 9. [i. 524, 525.]

In Joh. tra. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 501. Grat. de Cons. Dist. 2. Qui discordat.]

Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 21. cap. 5. [*l. c.* 25. vii. 647.]

Aug. in Psal. 57. [iv. 557.]

Chrysostom saith: "Where the carcase is, there are eagles: the carcase is the body of Christ, in respect of his death. But he nameth eagles, to shew, that whoso will approach to this body must mount aloft, and have no dealing with the earth, nor be drawn and creep downward, but must evermore flee up, and behold the Sun of justice, and have the eye of his mind quick and sharp. For this is a table of eagles" (that fly on high), "not of jays" (that creep beneath[26]). So saith St. Hierom: "Let us go up with the Lord" (into heaven) "into that great parlour, spread and clean: and let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament." He saith, they

Hom. 24. in 1 ad Cor. [x. 216.]

Hier. ad Hedibiam, qu. 2. [iv. 172.]

[26] [S. Chrysost. supra, vol. ii. 326, note 24.]

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that rise not up by faith, receive not the cup of Christ. So saith Hilary: "The bread that came down from heaven is not received but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ[27]." *De Trinit. lib.* 8.

This is the undoubted meaning of the old fathers, that the wicked are not partakers of the passion of Christ, because they lack faith, whereby only Christ is received of us. As Augustine saith: "How shall I hold Christ being absent? how shall I thrust my hand up into heaven, that I may hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou holdest him." By this means we draw nigh to Christ, we hide ourselves in his wounds, we suck at his breast, we feed of his body, and comfortably lay up in our mind, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes. Tract. in Johan. 50. [iii. pt. 2. p. 630.]

Now let us examine what difference is between the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the body. It behoveth us to take each part aright as it is, lest we be deceived, and take one for another. Origen saith: *Simpliciores nescientes distinguere, &c.:* "Simple men, not being able to discern what things in the scriptures ought to be applied to the outward man, and what to the inner, being deceived by the likeness of words, have turned themselves to a sort of peevish fables, and vain phantasies." Therefore saith Chrysostom: *Magnum crede mihi bonum est, scire quid sit creatura, et quid sit Creator, &c.:* "Believe me, it is a great matter to understand what is the creature, and what is God the Creator: what are the works, and what is the workman." The difference herein is this: A sacrament is a figure or token: the body of Christ is figured or tokened. The sacrament bread is bread, it is not the body of Christ. The body of Christ is flesh, it is no bread. The bread is beneath, the body is above: the bread is on the table, the body is in heaven: the bread is in the mouth, the body in the heart: the bread feedeth the outward man, the body feedeth the inward man: the bread feedeth the body, the body feedeth the soul: the bread shall come to nothing; the body is immortal, and shall not perish: the bread is vile, the body of Christ glorious. Such a difference is there between the bread, which is a sacrament of the body, and the body of Christ itself. The sacrament is eaten as well In Prolog. in Cant. [iii. 28.] De jejuniis et lectione Gen. [i. 440. ed. 1588.]

[27] [S. Hilar. See vol. iii. 463, note [54].]

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of the wicked as of the faithful: the body is only eaten of the faithful. The sacrament may be eaten unto judgment: the body cannot be eaten, but unto salvation. Without the sacrament we may be saved: but without the body of Christ we have no salvation, we cannot be saved. As St. Augustine saith: *Qui non sumit carnem Christi, non habet vitam: et qui eam sumit, habet vitam, et eam utique æternam:* "He that receiveth not the flesh of Christ, hath not life: and he that receiveth the same, hath life, and that for ever."

Tract. 26. in Johan. [iii. pt. 2. p. 500.]

Such a difference maketh Epiphanius: *Hoc est rotundæ figuræ et insensibile, quantum ad potentiam, &c.:* "This thing" (that is, the sacrament) "is of a round form," (for it was a great thick round cake,) "and, touching any power that is in it, utterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole moving." Again, St. Augustine saith for the difference of them: "The sacrament" (of Christ's body) "is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction: but the thing itself," (that is, the flesh of Christ,) "whereof this is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it."

Epiph. in Anchor. [ii. 60.]

Tract. 26. in Johan. [iii. pt. 2. p. 500.]

Of the difference which is between a figure of any thing, and the thing itself, Chrysostom saith: *Audisti fuisse figuram, ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo: neque enim typus esset, si omnia quæ veritati accidunt haberentur:* "Ye have heard that it was a figure, therefore marvel not, and, being a figure, require not all things to agree: for otherwise it were no figure." These and such like reasons no doubt moved the godly father to say, as we have learned to say: *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res* [leg. *virtus*] *sacramenti:* "The sacrament is one thing, and the matter of the sacrament" (which is Christ's very body) "is another thing." And therefore he saith:.....*honorem, tanquam religiosa habere possunt: stupore, tanquam mira non possunt:* "These things" (speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body) "may have honour, as things appointed to religion: but wonder, as things marvellous, they cannot have[28]." Thus are we plainly taught by

Hom. 35. in Gen. [iv. 357.]

Tract. 26. in Johan. [iii. pt. 2. p. 498.]

Aug. de Trinit. lib. 3. cap. 10. [viii. 803.]

[28] [S. Aug. de Trin. "... vel per- "acto ministerio transitura, sicut "panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo "sacramento consumitur. Sed, quia "hæc hominibus nota sunt, quia "per homines fiunt, honorem &c."]

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the catholic learned fathers, to put a difference between the sacrament, and the body of Christ: and that the one of them is not really lapped up or shut within the other: that the one (as Epiphanius saith) is utterly void of sense; the other whole sense, and whole sensible: that the one is received to destruction unto some, as St. Augustine saith; the other is received of all men unto life: that the one is a figure, as Chrysostom saith; the other a truth.

It remaineth, that we consider how we ought to prepare our hearts: and with what faith and reverence we should resort to these holy mysteries. We may not come, as we use to do to our usual meats. For here, in a mystery and sacrament of bread, is set before us the body of Christ our Saviour; and his blood in the sacrament of wine. We see one thing, we must conceive another thing. Therefore we must in such manner be affected, as if we were present to behold his death upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood for our sins.

Let us set before our eyes that dreadful tragedy, and the causes and effects of his death: that so our hearts may be the rather moved to yield that allegiance, obedience, and reverence, which is due. We were the children of wrath, the enemies of God, shut up under sin, and the heirs of everlasting damnation. In this case "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And as St. Paul saith: "God sent his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, and by sin condemned sin in the flesh." Rom. viii. 3. There was no other thing in heaven or earth, which would be taken for our ransom. Therefore was the Son of God brought before the judge, and arraigned as a thief, and condemned, and scourged, and put to death: his side was opened with a spear, and the blood flowed out: and he said, "It is finished;" that is to say, the price for man is now paid. Thus, "being Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8. in the form of God, he thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto men, and was found in shape as a man. He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." He gave his body to be crucified, and his blood to be shed for our sakes. There was no other sacrifice left for sin: woe

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worth the sin of man, that was the cause of the death of Christ.

Phil. iii. 9, 10, 11. What were the effects of his death? What followed? "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus should every knee bow: and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father." God spake out of the heavens, and said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." He crowned him with glory and honour: he hath not only advanced Christ, but us also together with him: "And made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus:" "He hath made us like to the image of his Son." Thus hath he made us an acceptable people, and hath renewed the face of the earth: so that now he saith not, as he did to Adam, Thou art earth, and shalt return to earth: but he saith, Thou art heaven; an immortal and undefiled inheritance, that fadeth not away, is reserved in heaven for thee. This is the effect and value of the death of Christ.

Ephes. ii. 6.

All these things are laid before us in the holy table, if we have eyes to see and behold them. There may we see the crucifying of his body, and the shedding of his blood, as it were in a glass. Therefore Christ saith, "Do this in remembrance of me:" in remembrance of my benefit wrought for you: in remembrance of your salvation purchased by me. St. Paul saith: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come."

1 Cor. xi. 26.

In this supper lieth a hidden mystery. There is the horror of sin, there is the death of our Lord for our sin represented, how he was wounded for our sins, and tormented for our iniquities, and led as a lamb to the slaughter. There may we see the shame of the cross; the darkness over the world; the earth to quake; the stones to cleave asunder; the graves to open, and the dead to rise. These things may we see in the supper: this is the meaning of these holy mysteries.

Therefore let every one examine himself, and search and weigh his own heart, whether he be the child of God, and a member of the body of Christ: and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is a holy food, the seal of our faith, the assurance of God's promises, and a covenant between God and man. He

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that doth unworthily thrust himself to this table, eateth and drinketh his own damnation. When a sick man, of a weak and feeble stomach, sitteth down to eat with them that are whole, whatsoever he eateth or drinketh, it doth increase his sickness. To them that perish, the word of God is a savour of death unto death. "Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood," as saith St. Augustine.

If any of us come to the sacrament of the body of Christ, and yet make ourselves the members of the devil, we tread Christ under our feet, we regard not his body crucified, nor his blood shed for us; we regard not the price of our salvation, we are guilty of his death, we betray the innocent blood, we are fallen from grace, and Christ hath died in vain for us.

Let us remember Christ was forsaken, scorned, buffeted, crucified, and left upon the cross: he was "a worm, and no man," a reproach among men. Nature itself yearned, and yielded at the sight hereof. The whole land grew dark, the earth did quake, the sun lost his light, the powers of heaven were moved, the rocks were cloven, the veil of the temple rent, the thief repented, and said, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom:" the centurion glorified God, and said, "Of a surety this man was just."

Where is the power of Christ's death now? Where is the force and power of his word? By these means he speaketh to thee, and calleth, saying, Behold, O man, thus have I sought thee: these things I suffer for thy sake, that thou shouldest eat my flesh, and drink my blood, and be made one with me: that thou mightest come into me, and I into thee. I have made thee a member of my body, "bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." Thou that wallowest in thy sins, thou Sodom and Gomorrah, thou child of destruction, which hast rejoiced in my shame, and art not moved with the pains which I have suffered, what might I do for thy sake, to save thee, that I have not done? What might I suffer, and have not endured it? O be a partner of my death, that thou mayest have part in my resurrection.

Let us die with Christ; let us be crucified unto the world. Let us be holy eagles, and soar above. Let us go up into the great parlour, and receive of our Lord the cup of the

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new testament. There let us behold the body that was crucified for us, and the blood which was shed for us. There let us say, This is the ransom of the world: this was once offered, and hath made perfect for ever all them that believe: this entered once into the holy place, and obtained everlasting redemption for us: this standeth always in the presence of God, and maketh intercession for us: this is the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world:" by this body I am now no more earth and ashes: by this, I am now not a bondman, but made free. This body hath broken the gates of hell, and hath opened heaven. In this are all the treasures of God's mercy: by this the prince of darkness is cast forth: in this body shall he come again to judge the quick and the dead.

Let no unclean or filthy person, no adulterer, no usurer, no cruel extortioner, or devourer of God's people, offer himself to the receiving of this sacrament. If any be such a one, I require him by the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and by the Judge of the quick and the dead, that he come not to the Lord's table: that he betray not the Son of God. "It were better he had never been born, and that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he thrown into the sea." Let us not deceive ourselves: God will not be mocked. He receiveth damnation, that receiveth unworthily.

Let us fall down before our Lord, and give thanks unto him: let us say, "What shall I give unto the Lord, for all that he hath given unto me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord." Let us say, "O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world!" Let us say, "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name." Let us purpose and promise amendment of our life: let us go out with Peter, and weep: let us fall at Christ's feet with Mary Magdalene, and with our tears wash his feet: let us say with David, "I have sinned to the Lord:" let us say with the prodigal son, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, I am no more worthy to be called thy son:" let us say, "Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy. Thou art my God. I am thy servant. O save me for thy mercy's sake." Let us offer up our bodies, a living, pure, holy, and accept-

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able sacrifice to God. So shall we be partakers of the death of Christ, and of his resurrection.

Thus have we briefly gone through the whole matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and followed the same order which was set down. First, that we do in the sacrament truly eat the body of Christ. Secondly, what is the meaning of the words, *Hoc est corpus meum.* Thirdly, whether the bread remain in nature and substance. Fourthly, whether it be eaten with the mouth of the body, or by faith only. Fifthly, what difference is between the body of Christ, and the mystical signs. Sixthly, how we must be prepared, and with what devotion we ought to come to receive this sacrament.

Having thus treated of the sacraments of the new testament, and said so much as is needful for you to know of them both, as well of baptism, which is the sacrament of our regeneration, as of our Lord's supper, which is the sacrament of our refection or nourishment: I will now in few words speak something of *confirmation*, of *matrimony*, of *ecclesiastical ministry*, which some call holy orders, of *repentance* or *penance*, and of *extreme unction*, which some of late years have called sacraments, and by joining these to the other, have made up the number of seven sacraments, and so have charged the church with five sacraments more than Christ did ever ordain.

For these five want either the word, or the element, or both; and therefore may not be taken for true sacraments. Such as have with all their skill shewed themselves helpers and furtherers of our adversaries, yet have plainly confessed that they are not sacraments of Christ's institution[29]. Alexander of Hales saith of confirmation: "The sacrament of confirmation, as it is a sacrament, was not ordained either by Christ or by the apostles, but afterward in the council of Melda:" which council was kept many years after Christ. And Durandus saith of matrimony: "Matrimony, in due and proper kind of speech, is no sacrament." And Bessarion, a cardinal, confesseth (as it was shewed before) that in due and right consideration, none of these five may be called sacraments: "We read" (saith he) "that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the gospel."

[Alex. Hales. pt. 4. qu. 24. memb. 1.]

[Bessar. de Sacram. Eucharistiæ. Lit. du Sainctes, p. 181.]

[29] [See Def. of Apol. pt. 2. c. 11. Dis. 2.]

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First, of confirmation, which is so called because that which was done on our behalf in baptism is ratified and confirmed: many parents had not such due care as they ought in the godly bringing up of their children: so that many children knew not, whether they were baptized or no: many were never taught, what covenant was made between them and God in their baptism: many swerved away from Christian profession, and carried themselves to the fellowship of the heathens: and of the sons of God, became the sons of the devil. Upon this occasion, the church of God layeth charge upon the parents, and the witnesses, of the baptizing of young children, that they teach them the ways of the Lord, and to know the holy mystery that they have received, and what they have promised and professed in baptism; that they put them in mind, how God hath called them out of the kingdom of darkness unto his wonderful light, and to the fellowship of the saints in light.

When the children of the Christians were thus brought up, and had learned the religion of Christ, and to walk in the ways of godliness, they were brought to the church, and by their parents presented unto the bishop: and yielded a reason of their faith openly, before the whole congregation: they professed they would so believe, that they would live and die in that faith. Then the bishop and all the people fell down on their knees, and prayed unto God that he would continue the good thing he had begun, and the bishop, laying his hand upon them, commended them unto God. This was the ratifying of the profession which they made by others at their baptism, and for that cause called confirmation.

Now, whether it be a sacrament? and when I say a sacrament, I mean a ceremony commanded by God in express words: for God only hath the authority to institute a sacrament. Sacraments are confirmations and seals of the promises of God, and are not of the earth, but from heaven. As Christ
Matt. xxi. 25. saith: "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or of men?" Chrysostom saith, the mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it. Mark, and judge, and yourselves shall see, whether this were a sacrament instituted by Christ. Augustine said: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum:* "Join the word to the

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creature, and it is made a sacrament." This creature or element is visible, as are water, bread and wine. The word which must be joined, is the commandment and institution of Christ: without the word, and the commandment and institution, it is no sacrament.

I protest, that the use and order of confirmation rightly used is profitable, and necessary in the church, and no way to be broken. But all that is profitable and necessary is not a sacrament. Christ did not command it; he spake no word of it. Look, and read, if you doubt it. Christ's words are written, and may be seen. You shall never find that he commanded *confirmation*, or that he ever made any special promise to it. Therefore may you conclude, that it is no sacrament. Otherwise, being rightly used, it is a good ceremony, and well ordained of our ancient fathers.

The apostles laid their hands on them, and confirmed them, which were baptized of John. But that proveth not this confirmation: that was extraordinary, it was a miracle. The Holy Ghost came down upon them, and lightened their hearts by this laying on of the apostles' hands. But it is not so now, the Holy Ghost doth not now descend in visible form upon those which are confirmed: there is no such miracle wrought. There is no need, that it should so be. There was no commandment, either to appoint it to the church, or to continue it until the coming of Christ, and the end of the world. Therefore it is no sacrament by the institution of Christ. Hitherto of the use: now somewhat of the abuse.

Nothing so good and holy, but it may be abused. The word of God hath been abused to heresies, to necromancy, to charms, and sorcery, and witchcraft. The supper of the Lord was abused in the time of St. Paul. He telleth the Corinthians: "This is not to eat the Lord's supper." Less marvel, then, if this happen to a ceremony. Time rusteth and consumeth all things, and maketh many a thing to prove naught in the end, which was first devised for good. The brazen serpent at the first was made by Moses, and set up for good purpose. But afterward it was abused: the children of Israel did burn incense unto it, and therefore Ezechias brake it in pieces. 1 Cor. xi. 20.

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The first abuse in confirmation was, that it was done in a strange tongue, that no man might understand what was meant. Then, that they received to confirmation such children, and so young, as were not able to make profession of their faith: so that the infant promised, he knew not what: and the bishop ratified and confirmed, where there was nothing to be confirmed: he set to his seal, where there was nothing to be sealed. These abuses were far unmeet for the church of God.

Besides these, there was great abuse in the manner of doing. For thus the bishop said: *Consigno te signo crucis; et confirmo te chrismate salutis:* "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the oil of salvation." Thus they used to do: these were their words, "with the oil of salvation." They took not this of Christ, nor of his apostles, nor of the holy ancient fathers. It agreeth not with our Christian faith to give the power of salvation unto oil. He that seeketh salvation in oil, loseth his salvation in Christ, and hath no part in the kingdom of God. Oil for the belly, and for necessary uses of life. It is no fit instrument, without commandment or promise by the word, to work salvation.

More they said, he was no perfect Christian, that was not anointed by the bishop with this holy oil. This was another abuse. For, whosoever is baptized receiveth thereby the full name of a perfect Christian, and hath the full and perfect covenant and assurance of salvation: he is perfectly buried with Christ; doth perfectly put on Christ, and is perfectly made partaker of his resurrection. Therefore they are deceived, that say, no man is a perfect Christian that is not marked with this oil. Else the apostles and holy martyrs were but half Christians, because they lacked this oil. Else, what hope and comfort might the poor fathers have? In what state shall he think to find his child, if he die before confirmation, and pass without perfect christendom? Verily they write thus: *Sine oleo chrismatis, nemo potest sisti ante tribunal Christi:* "Without the oil of chrism, no man can appear before the judgment seat of Christ."

Again, they say, confirmation is more honourable than baptism; because any priest may baptize, but confirmation is

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given only by a bishop, or a suffragan. So do they give a greater preeminence to confirmation, which is devised by man, than to the holy sacrament of baptism, which Christ himself ordained. I need not speak more hereof, the error is so gross, so thick, so sensible and palpable.

Again, when they blessed or hallowed their oil, they used these words: *Fiat, Domine, hoc oleum, te benedicente, unctio spiritualis ad purificationem mentis et corporis:* "O Lord, let this oil, by thy blessing, be made a spiritual ointment, to purify both soul and body." O Christ Jesu, where was thy cross, where was thy blood, and the price of thy death and passion, when a drop of oil was of power to work remission of all sins, to save and defend against all the darts of the wicked spirits, and to refresh both body and soul? Yet so were we taught, so were we led. I feign not these things: the words may be seen. Neither do I speak this to bring you to a misliking or loathing of our latter fathers: but only that we may humble our hearts, and give thanks to God that hath brought us out of that darkness, and given us better knowledge.

Now a word or two of the bringing up of children, and preparing them to confirmation. Wherein I would God the old order were duly observed, that they were instructed perfectly to know religion, and their duty to God: and so might be brought before the congregation, and make an open profession of their faith, with promise, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor fire, nor sword, nor life, nor death, shall ever make them deny their faith. Hereof might much be spoken, but I will be short.

The whole standeth in knowledge and in the fear of God: that they may know God, and walk before him in reverence and in fear, and serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. The Jews are a miserable people: they live in error, they die in their own blood: yet have they so much understanding, that they bring up their children in the knowledge of God, and that knowledge they teach out of the word of God. They remember what charge God gave them: "Thou shalt teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons." Deut. iv. 9.

Therefore, a father must teach his child, what God is: that

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he is our Father, that he hath made us, and doth feed us, and giveth us all things needful, both for body and soul: that he is our Lord, and therefore we must serve him, and obey him, and do nothing whereby he may be displeased: that he is our Judge, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and that all men shall come before him, to receive according as they have done in the flesh. He must put his child in mind of his baptism, and teach him that it is a covenant of God's mercy to us, and of our duty to God: that it is a mystery of our salvation, that our soul is so washed with the blood of Christ, as the water of baptism washeth our body. So must he also teach his child the mystery of the Lord's supper: what and how he receiveth there to his comfort: that as the bread is broken, and the wine poured out, so the body of Christ was crucified, and his blood shed for the remission of sins: that if we believe in Christ, we are, through the promise of God, so certainly nourished in our souls to everlasting life, by the passion of Christ Jesus our Saviour, as our bodies are truly nourished with the creatures of bread and
Acts xxii. 3. wine. Thus Paul was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and instructed according to the perfect manner of the law of
2 Tim. iii. 15. the fathers. Thus Timothy was brought up to know the holy scriptures of a child. How are we become so superstitious? why have we been so delighted in darkness? why is it so hard a matter to remove us from the errors wherein we have lived? why had we rather fall down before dumb things, and worship them, and continue still in ignorance, rather than hearken unto the word of God? why have we played the part of the Jews, and cried *Crucifige* upon our dear friends and kinsmen; upon those whom we could not justly accuse of any crime; who offended us no ways, but in that they did point us to Christ, and called us to seek salvation only in him? Hereof there cannot any better cause be yielded than this, that we were ignorantly bred up, without knowledge of God, without understanding of his word. The
Prov. xxii. 6. wise man saith: "Teach a child the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it." And again:
Wisd. vi. 14. "Whoso awaketh unto wisdom betimes shall have no great travail: for he shall find her sitting at his doors."

Therefore wicked rulers, as Julianus, Licinius, Maximinus,

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and such others, have forbidden that children should be brought up in the knowledge of God. They taught them to blaspheme Christ and holy men, and to speak ill of them before they knew them. But let us look upon our children as upon the great blessings of God. They are the Lord's vessels ordained to honour; let us keep them clean: they are Christ's lambs and sheep of his flock; let us lead them forth into wholesome pasture. They are the seed plot of heaven; let us water them, that God may give the increase: their angels behold the face of God; let us not offend them: they are the temples and tabernacles of the Holy Ghost; let us not suffer the foul spirit to possess them, and dwell within them.

God saith, Your children are my children. They are the sons of God. They are born anew, and are well shapen in beautiful proportion: make them not monsters. He is a monster whosoever knoweth not God. By you they are born into the world; be careful also that by your means they may be begotten unto God: you are careful to train them in nurture and comely behaviour of the body; seek also to fashion their minds unto godliness. You have brought them to the fountain of baptism, to receive the mark of Christ; bring them up in knowledge, and watch over them that they be not lost. So shall they be confirmed, and will keep the promise they have made, and will grow unto perfect age in Christ.

Of marriage I shall need say the less, the matter is so known and common. This fellowship was first ordained by God himself in paradise. God himself said: "It is not good that man should be himself alone: I will make him an helper meet for him." God, which fashioned man, and breathed in him the breath of life, and knoweth his very heart and reins, said, It is not good, it is not fit, that man should be himself alone. Although man were in paradise, although he were in the perfection of virtue, yet saith God he hath need of a helper. Christ disdained not to be at a marriage; he honoured it both by his presence and by the working of a miracle. St. Paul saith: "Marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled." In all men, saith he, in the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in martyrs, in bishops[29].

Gen. ii. 18.

Heb. xiii. 4.

[29] [See this subject discussed supra vol. iv. pp. 543—619; especially p. 551. and p. 606. Compare also vol. iii. 363.]

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That all the apostles, St. John only excepted, were married, appeareth by Ignatius, Clemens, and Eusebius. Spiridion was a married bishop, and yet he was thereby nothing hindered, neither to discharge his duty nor to any other godly purpose. Tertullian was a priest, and married, as appeareth by his own book, written to his wife. Gregory, St. Basil's brother, was bishop of Nyssa, yet married. Another Gregory was bishop of Nazianzum, yet married, and nevertheless a faithful servant and steward of the mysteries of God. Hilary was bishop of Poictiers, yet married. All these were holy, and godly, and chaste in body and in spirit, and yet were married. Gregory Nazianzen saith: "Marriage is worthy of praise, for the quietness and contentation that is in it." And Clemens Alexandrinus saith: "As well marriage as also chastity have their peculiar offices pertaining to God." And Chrysostom saith: "Marriage is void of fault, and is no hinderance to virtue." Again: "So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou mayest be promoted even to a bishop's chair."

In funere Gorgoniæ. [t. 222.]

Strom. lib. 3. [t. 546.]

Hom. 57. ad Heb. [In ep. ad Tit. hom. 2. xi. 738.]

Hom. 7. ad Heb. [xii. 80.]

What are they then, that call marriage uncleanness, filthiness, a work of the flesh: that say it defileth a man, and therefore God's ministers may not be married? How can they thus speak, that have any knowledge of that which God hath spoken? May we not worthily say unto such despisers of lawful matrimony, that which St. Bernard in like case said? *Fingunt se amore castitatis ista dicere, cum ea magis causa turpitudinis fovendæ, et multiplicandæ adinvenerint:* "They bear us in hand, that they speak these things for love of chastity: whereas indeed they have devised the same, to the end to nourish and increase their filthiness." Or, as Augustine sometime said to the Manichees: *Non concubitum, sed, ut ab apostolo longe ante dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis:* "Ye forbid not copulation: but, as it was long ago forespoken by the apostle, indeed ye forbid very marriage." If you mark these few words which I delivered, it will easily appear, how reverend an account is to be made of that state of life. For if you regard the necessity thereof, God found it good to give man a wife: if the antiquity, it was ordained in the beginning of the world: if the place, in paradise: if the time, in the innocency of man. If you regard any thing the rather, be-

Bern. serm. 66. in Cantica. [Tom. iv. 1497. ed. Ben. 1719.]

August. de moribus Manich. lib. 2. cap. 18. [i. 739.]

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cause of him that ordained it, God was the author of marriage: even God which made heaven and earth, and which is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If you seek the allowance, Christ approved it by his birth in marriage, and by his presence at marriage: if the dignity, it is honourable: if among whom, in all men of all estates, of all callings: in prince, in subject, in minister, in priest, and in people. It is honourable in prophets, honourable in apostles, in martyrs, in bishops.

"Marriage is honourable in all men, but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." Their portion shall be with the infidels, they shall be cast into utter darkness, their worm shall never die, their fire shall never be quenched, they shall go down headlong into the fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels. "Be not deceived," saith St. Paul, "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor buggerers, shall inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Cor. vi. 9.

Now are we to speak in the next place of the ministry of the church, which some have called holy orders. Shall we account it a sacrament? there is no reason so to do. It is a heavenly office, a holy ministry or service. By such as have this office, God lighteneth our darkness, he declareth his mind to us, he gathereth together his scattered sheep, and publisheth unto the world the glad tidings of salvation. The patriarchs did bear this office. This was the office of the prophets. God saith: "I have sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising up every day, and sending them." Again he saith: "I have put my words in thy mouth." Therefore when they taught the people of God, the prophets signed their speech thus; The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it: the Lord hath said: the voice and the word of the Lord: hear the word of the Lord. Jerem. vii. 25. Is. li. 16.

But when the fulness of the time came, God sent his Son, and hath spoken unto us by him. He became our prophet, to shew us the will of his Father. He saith: "I have not spoken of myself: but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak." Hereof St. John saith: "No man hath seen God at any time." He is invisible, he is incomprehensible, no mind John xii. 49. John i. 18.

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can conceive him, no eye can see him: but "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath
Matt. iii. 17. declared him." Of him the Father said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear him." Hearken unto him, receive his word, credit him, believe him. No doubt the ministry of the gospel is highly to be esteemed, seeing our Saviour was not ashamed to publish the will of his Father in his own person: yet it appeareth not, where ever he did ordain it to be a sacrament.

He appointed that the comfort thereof should be carried
Matt. xxviii. 19. into all nations, and gave that charge unto his apostles, "Go
Matt. x. 27. teach all nations." Again: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light: and what you hear in the ear, that preach you on the houses." He saw the people, and had compassion on them, he saw they were dispersed, and scattered abroad like sheep without a shepherd, and that they perished, because they had no knowledge of the will of God.
Matt. ix. 38. Therefore he saith: "Pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send labourers into the harvest." Therefore he
Matt. iv. 19. ordaineth them to this ministry, "I will make you fishers of
John xx. 21. men." And sendeth them forth, "As my Father sent me, so
Matt. x. 6. send I you." And, "Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He willed them to call the people to repentance, and to preach the kingdom of God.

By this ministry, God hath gathered to himself an acceptable people, and hath brought them to the obedience of the gospel of Christ, and hath turned the hearts of the fathers unto their children, and so made it to be the foundation of religion. They that exercise this ministry are the eyes of Christ, the pillars of the church, the interpreters of God's will, the watchmen of the Lord's tower, the leaders of Christ's sheep, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. Daniel saith:
Dan. xii. 3. "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever." Not that there is any so great wisdom, or eloquence in men: they are but weak, they are
Is. vi. 5. unfit to do this service. Esay saith of himself: "I am a man
Jerem. i. 6. of polluted lips." And Jeremy saith: "O Lord God, behold,
1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. I cannot speak, for I am a child." So saith St. Paul: "I have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase. So then,

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neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." So said St. John, that he was not Christ, nor that Prophet, but the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, and not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe that should come after him.

The power, whereby they did conquer the world, was not in them, but in the word which they preached. It is "the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth." It is like a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh a stone. "When ye received of us the word of the preaching of God," (saith St. Paul to the Thessalonians), "ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe." The power of an earthly prince is great. The wise man saith: "The fear of a king, is like the roaring of a lion." Yet is a prince but mortal: and the law of a prince is but mortal: it hath no power to force the conscience. But the word of GOD doth break into the heart, it forceth a way into the conscience: it is sharper than any two-edged sword: it entereth through, even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, because it is the word of God.

Rom. i. 16. Jerem. xxiii. 29. 1 Thess. ii. 13. Prov. xx. 2.

For, it is no man, but God that speaketh, as Christ telleth the apostles: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." So saith the prophet Zachary: "He spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began." The prophets, and apostles, and holy men of God, were but instruments. It was God which gave his holy Spirit, which gave them tongues to speak, and words to utter. Therefore said Christ: "I will give you a mouth, and wisdom, where-against all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist." Though men be but simple, yet the word they deliver is mighty: though they be mortal, the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Matt. x. 20. Luke i. 70. Luke xxi. 15.

Where this word is received, it is fire, and burneth: it is a hammer, and breaketh the hardness of the heart: it is mighty in operation: it cleanseth the inner man: it openeth the conscience: it is a savour of life unto life: it is the means of salvation. He that receiveth this word and believeth, shall be saved. This is the word of reconciliation. God hath committed it unto us.

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If any hide this word, he slayeth the people: he is a
Jerem. xxiii. 30. dumb dog. Of such God saith: "Behold, I will come against the prophets, that steal my word every one from his neigh-
Luke xi. 52. bour." They are thieves and robbers. "Woe be unto you interpreters of the law: for ye have taken away the key of knowledge," (saith Christ;) "ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbad."

Matt. xxiii. 13. And again: "Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: for ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that would enter to come in." Of these, and against them
Jerem. xxiii. 1. God speaketh by the prophet Jeremy: "Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture."
Zach. xi. 17. And by the prophet Zachary: "O idol shepherd that leaveth the flock." Thou hast ears, and hearest not: thou hast eyes, and seest not: thou hast a tongue, and speakest not: and a heart, but understandest not: thou art an idol; Christ said to thee, Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, but thou carest not for them. Thou hast the room of an evangelist, and pastor, and teacher: but thou gatherest not the saints together: thou doest not the work of the ministry: thou buildest not up the body of Christ. They shall perish in their wickedness, but their blood will I require at thy hands.

Here note, this ministry of the church was not ordained to offer sacrifice for forgiveness of sins. Whosoever taketh that office upon him, he doth wrong and injury to the death and
Heb. v. 10. passion of Christ. He only is called of God "an high priest
Heb. ix. 12. after the order of Melchisedech." He only, "by his own blood, entered in once into the holy place, and obtained eternal
Heb. x. 14. redemption for us." He only, "with one offering hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified." He only hath said, *Consummatum est:* "It is finished." The ransom or price for man's salvation, and for forgiveness of the sins of the world, is paid in me, in my death upon the cross. Of him
Matt. iii. 17. alone, and only of him, hath it been spoken: "This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And by
Is. liii. 5. Esay: "With his stripes only we are healed." It is he only,
Ephes. ii. 14. Coloss. ii. 14. "which hath made of both one." It is he only, "which did put out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us: he even took it out of the way, and fastened it upon the

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cross." He alone is our High Priest, the Lamb of God, the sacrifice for sins, the altar, the propitiation for sinners, and Redeemer of the world. He only hath appeased the wrath of God. He only appeareth in the sight of God to make intercession for our sins. All others whatsoever, apostles, prophets, teachers and pastors, are not in office to offer any propitiatory sacrifice: but are called to the ministry of the saints, to the edification of the body of Christ, and to the repairing of the church of God.

Thus much of the holy ministry of the church, which standeth in the setting forth of the mystery of our salvation, both by the preaching of the word of God, and by the due and reverend ministration of the sacraments. The principalest part of this office is, to preach repentance, that so we may amend our lives, and be converted unto God. So Joel the prophet followed his ministry, saying, "Rent your hearts and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God, for he is gracious and merciful." So St. Paul teacheth, that true circumcision is by "putting off the sinful body of the flesh:" that it is in mortifying our members that be on the earth, "fornication, uncleanness, the inordinate affections, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry:" that it is in putting away all these things, "wrath, anger, maliciousness, cursed speaking, filthy speaking out of your mouth, in putting off the old man with his works," and putting on the new, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.

Joel ii. 13. Coloss ii. 11. Coloss. iii. 5.

So John Baptist said: "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand. Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, and make his paths straight." So our Saviour Christ, when he began to preach, said: "Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand."

Matt. iii. 2. Matt. iv. 17.

Therefore it will not be amiss now to speak of repentance, which some of late years have changed into penance, and thereof have also made a sacrament. Here it behoveth to rip up the whole life of man. There is not any man that liveth, and sinneth not. God saith: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The prophet Jeremy saith: "The heart is deceitful and wicked above all things, who can know it?" St. John therefore saith: "If we say that we have

Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. Jer. xvii. 9. 1 John i. 8.

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no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us." Of
Rom. vii. 18. himself St. Paul saith: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Of himself the prophet
Psal. xxxviii. 3. David saith: "There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger: neither is there rest in my bones, because of my sins. For mine iniquities are gone over mine head, and as a weighty burden they are too heavy for me." He saith:
Psal. cxxx. 3. "If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who
Prov. xxiv. 16. shall abide it?" So saith the wise man: "A just man falleth seven times."

God is a righteous God, and the avenger of all them that
Rom. vi. 23. offend. St. Paul saith: "The wages of sin is death." And
Ezek. xviii. 20. the prophet Ezekiel: "The soul that sinneth shall die." For this cause then God ordained the ministry of his word, and appointed certain to this office, that they should warn his people of their sins, and fear them by the terror of God's assured displeasure and heavy wrath. As is seen by that to
Is. lviii. 1. Esay: "Cry aloud, spare not: lift up thyself like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of
2 Tim. iv. 1. Jacob their sins." So St. Paul unto Timothy: "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing, and in his kingdom, preach the word: be instant in season and out of season: improve, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine."

So would God have our filth laid open before our eyes, that we might weigh and judge our own hearts, that every man might make charge upon himself, and say, I am an unprofitable servant, my righteousness is as a foul and stained cloth. My soul hath sinned, and hath deserved to die the death.

In this case, some fall into desperation, and say, as some-
Gen. iv. 13. times did Cain: "My sin is greater than can be pardoned." God withdraweth his mercy from me, I am unworthy of it. I have offended against the holy Spirit of God: mine own conscience accuseth me. I have no part in the kingdom of God and of Christ: there is no sacrifice left for my sins. Thus the wicked live in trembling and agony, as did Cain: thus they leave their life with horror and misery: so have they no grace to repent, no taste nor feeling of the mercy of God.

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But the children of God, though they be wounded, yet they find relief in the certain hope of God's mercy. Though they say, I am a sinner, my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head; I have offended against heaven and earth; yet they know that Christ came to call sinners to repentance, and that he healeth those that are sick; that he said, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you." Matt. xi. 28. For what layeth he on his shoulders with joy? Is it not the lost sheep? Wherefore doth the woman light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it? Is it not for the piece of silver which she had lost? Over whom had the father compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him? Was not this done for him which was dead, but lived again, and for him which was lost, but was found again? "The Son of man came to save that which was lost:" Matt. xviii. 11. and, "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God for one sinner that converteth." Luke xv. 10.

God is merciful, and his mercy endureth for ever. So saith the prophet David: "Mercy is with the Lord." Psal. cxxx. 4. By the prophet Ezekiel: "I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God." Ezek. xviii. 32. It is the will of God "that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. ii. 4. By Esay the prophet, God saith: "If your sins were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow." Is. i. 18. "For I, even I am he that putteth away thine iniquities for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." Is. xliii. 25. The children of God hear this, and are glad. They lift themselves up in the faith of the mercy of God: they see the filthiness of their sin: they know, though the wrath of God be kindled against sin, yet he doth not utterly destroy those that have sinned, but such as continue in their sins without repentance: they know God will not despise an humble and contrite heart.

Therefore they say, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight." Psal. cxliii. 2. Take away the iniquity of thy servant. They say, "Why art thou heavy, O my soul, and why art thou unquiet within me? Wait on God; for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his presence." They say, "There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus:" "Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, because

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1 John iii. 20. thou art with me." They say, "If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart." Thus are we taught by the office of the ministry, and by the word of God, to see ourselves, to know our weakness, to repent our sins, to believe the forgiveness of our sins, and to turn unto God.

We are taught to lay open and acknowledge our sins, not to hide them, but to make confession of them. This is done two ways: either in the secret thought of thy heart before God, or else in the hearing and presence of men. David
Psal. xxxii. 5. made confession of his sins before God: "I acknowledged my sin before thee, neither hid I mine iniquity. I said, I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the punishment of my sin."

Psal. li. 3. And again: "I know mine iniquities, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee, against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight." Such a confession made Daniel:
Dan. ix. 5. "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly: yea, we have rebelled, and have departed from thy precepts, and from thy judgments. For we would not obey thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, and to all the
Is. lxiv. 5. people of the land." Even so the prophet Esay: "Behold, thou art angry, for we have sinned. We have all been as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness is as filthy clouts, and we all do fade like a leaf, and our iniquities like the wind have taken us away. But now, O Lord, thou art our father: we are the clay, and thou art our potter, and we all are the work of thy hands." This is true and Christian confession. We are required after this sort to examine ourselves, and confess our sins before God: who doth not so, he shall not find mercy and forgiveness of his sins.

The other sort of confession made unto men, I do not condemn. It may do much good, if it be well used. St. James
James v. 16. commendeth it among the faithful: "Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." He speaketh not of priest or minister, but of every one of the faithful. Every Christian may do this help unto another, to take knowledge of the secret and inner grief of the heart; to look upon the wound which sin and wickedness hath made, and by godly advice and earnest prayer for him,

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to recover his brother. This is a private exhortation, and as it were a catechising or instructing in the faith, and a means to lead us, by familiar and special conference, to examine our conscience, and to espy wherein we have offended God. The use and practise hereof is not only to be allowed, but most needful and requisite, if so the superstition, and necessity, and conscience, which many have fondly used and put therein, be taken away.

That the priests should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings; that every man should be bound to their auricular confession; it is no commandment or ordinance of God: it is devised and established by men, and was lately confirmed by Innocentius the Third. The church of God, in the time of our elder fathers, was not tied to any such necessity.

Chrysostom saith: *Non dico, ut confitearis conservo tuo peccata tua: dicito Deo, qui curet ea:* "I will thee not to confess thy sins to thy fellow-servant," (that is, to the priest,) "confess them unto God, that may heal them[30]." Again he saith: *Cogitatione tua fiat delictorum exquisitio: sine teste sit hoc judicium, solus Deus te confitentem videat:* "Examine thy sins in thy heart within thee: let this judgment be without witness, let God only see thee making thy confession[31]." And again: *Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuses: sed obedire te volo prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Apud Deum ergo, &c.:* "I say not to thee, that thou openly shew forth thyself, nor that thou accuse thyself in the presence of others: but I will have thee obey God, which saith, Disclose thy ways unto the Lord[32]." Confess thy sins therefore before God: declare thine offences, and make thy prayer for them before God, which is the true and righteous Judge. Make thy confession not with the tongue, but in the record of thine own conscience.

Hom. 2. in Psal. 50. [Hom. 2. v. 589.]

Hom. de pœnit. et confess. [ed. Savil. v. 512.]

Hom. 31. ad Heb. vel hom. 30. quære. [hom. 31. xii. 289.]

Likewise St. Augustine: *Quid mihi est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad inquirendam vitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam:* "What have I to do with

[Aug. Confess. lib. 10. c. 3. tom. 1. 171.]

[30] [Vol. i. 187. note 26; and vol. iv. 528. note 55.]

[31] [Vol. i. 187. note 25.]

[32] [Def. Apol. pt. 2. ch. 6. divis. 1. vol. iv. p. 487. note 36.]

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men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they could heal all my wounds or diseases? They be a curious sort, in searching out the life of others, and slothful in correcting their own life. St. Ambrose saith: *Lavat lachryma delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri:* "The tear washeth away that offence which shame would not suffer to confess in speech[33]."

De Pœnit. Petri serm. 46.

The church of God in Græcia never received it. And Erasmus witnesseth, it was not used in the time of St. Hierom: *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem:* "It appeareth, that in the time of St. Hierom" (which was four hundred years after Christ) "secret confession of sins was not yet ordained[34]."

In Scho. in Epitaph. Fabiolæ.

[Rhenan. in argum. lib. Tert. de Pœn.] And Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading, saith: *Tertullianus de clancularia ista confessione admissorum nihil loquitur, neque eam usquam olim præceptam legimus:* "Tertullian speaketh nothing of this secret confession of sins: and we read not any where that it was commanded in times past."

By these testimonies of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, and by the observation of Erasmus and Rhenanus it may appear, that this secret confession in the ear of the priest hath not been taken to be necessary: and that it is not of God's determinate appointment, but an ordinance of man. As the Gloss upon the Decrees something plainly confesseth: *Melius dicitur confessionem institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ traditione, potius quam ex Novi vel Veteris Testamenti authoritate:* "It is better said, that confession was appointed by some tradition of the universal church, than by any authority or commandment of the New or Old Testament."

De Pœnit. dist. 5. in Pœnit. in Glossa.

Now, in a word or two, I will somewhat speak of satisfaction or recompence for offences which we have done, whereby we satisfy and make amends to the full contentation of him that is offended. Such a recompence the law required: "An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth; a hand for a hand; a foot for a foot." Such amends for such harm: so much for so much: and this was accounted due and lawful satisfaction.

Exod. xxi. 24.

This is of two sorts: either that which is done unto God, or that which is done unto men. We are never able to satisfy

[33] [The author of this sermon was Maximus.]
[34] [Supra, vol. iv. pp. 528. 531.]

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and make amends unto God. We must always confess that we are unprofitable servants, and unworthy to stand in his presence: and by no means able of ourselves to make recompence for that we have offended him. Our only and full satisfaction for our trespasses done against him is the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The thief upon the cross called upon Jesus: "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." He knew he had offended God, but found not how he might make amends, otherwise than by the righteousness of Christ. Jesus answered him: "Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." To-day, that is, bye and bye. He refuseth him not, nor feareth him that God will refuse him, because he had done amiss, and made no recompence; but promiseth him, because he repented and believed, that he shall be saved. Paul was thrown down a persecutor, and raised up a preacher. What amends might he make in so short time?

St. Cyprian saith: *Sanguis tuus, O Christe, non quærit vindictam:* "Thy blood, O Christ, looketh not for any revenge." And St. Ambrose: *Lachrymas Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego:* "I read of Peter's tears, but I read nothing of any satisfaction he made." For our whole life cannot sufficiently acquit us from the guiltiness of one sin: much less is any man able to work or deserve the forgiveness of all his sins.

Cypr. [Arnold.] de Passione Domini. [App. cxxxi.]

De Pœnit. Petri Apost. serm. 46. [inter Serm. Maximi.]

The only things that God requireth of us when we have sinned, are that we sorrow for our sins, and amend our lives. So John the Baptist spake to the Pharisees: "Bring forth fruit worthy amendment of life." So St. Paul calleth the Ephesians to make recompence for their former naughtiness: "Cast off lying, and speak every man the truth to his neighbour.....Let him that stole steal no more, but let him rather labour, and work with his hands the thing that is good." Other recompence God looketh not for at our hands.

Matt. iii. 8.

Ephes. iv. 25. 28.

But when the godly have taken offence at any our doings that are evil, we must give all heed to content their minds, and reconcile ourselves again unto them. It hath been an ancient order in the church of God, that, if any had openly offended the congregation, he should come openly again before them to satisfy them by amends. There he fell down

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on his knees, confessed his fault, wept, and lamented for it: prayed the brethren that they would forgive him, and would also pray unto God to be merciful unto him. There the whole congregation fell down before God: their hearts melted: their eyes gushed out in tears: they held up their hands: prayed together for him, and gave thanks to God, that their brother, which had been lost, was found again. Such satisfaction was it, which hath been made to the church of God.

The last of those which some have of late misused, and counted one of the sacraments of the church, is *extreme unction.* And this they have founded upon the words of
James v. 14. St. James: "Is any sick among you? let him call the elders of the church, and let them pray for him, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he have committed sin, it shall be forgiven him."

For the better understanding of which words, consider that God is merciful to the sons of men, and sheweth forth his mercy at sundry times by sundry ways. And to leave the examples of the Old Testament: in the time of the gospel, he hath given to some the gift of tongues, and hath made them able, being simple men, to speak the wonderful works of God in tongues which they never learned. To some he hath given the gift of power, and of the operation of great works. By this power many signs and wonders were wrought
Acts v. 12. by the hands of the apostles. At the word of Peter, Ananias
Acts xiii. 11. and Sapphira his wife fell down dead. In this power Paul struck Elymas the sorcerer with blindness.

To some he gave the gift of healing. By this St. Peter
Acts iii. 2. healed a man which was a cripple from his mother's womb, and said: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk: and he took him by the right hand, and lift him up, and immediately his feet and ancle bones received strength." They were able to make the blind see; the lame to walk; the lepers to be clean; the dead to receive life again. For when he sent forth his apostles to preach, Christ
Matt. x. 1. "gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal every sickness and every disease."

These things they wrought, sometimes by their shadow,

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as many were healed by the shadow of Peter: sometimes with their word: sometimes with handkerchiefs: sometimes by laying on of hands, and by touching: sometimes with oil, as in the sixth of St. Mark: "They cast out many devils, and they anointed many that were sick with oil, and healed them:" even as Christ also by many sundry ways healed many. He healed sometimes, though he were absent: sometimes by his word: sometimes by mourning and sorrowing: sometimes by touching: sometimes with spittle and dust: for at that time the church had the especial gift of working miracles. Mark vi. 13.

Therefore St. James putteth them in mind, that they despise not to use the means which God hath appointed: that whosoever falleth into sickness, he call for the elders, and that they use their gift of healing, and anoint him with oil, because it hath pleased God thereby to work health. This was the manner and order of those times. Even as Christ used dust and spittle; so St. James willeth them to use oil for the restoring of health. As the Corinthians did abuse the gift of tongues, and were taught by St. Paul how to use it better; so did many abuse the gift of healing, and were therefore warned by St. James how they should use it better. As the gift of tongues was not to last for ever, but only for a time; so the gift of healing was not to continue ever, but for a time. Christ saith: "When thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face." He doth not in these words give an universal commandment that must ever be kept in our fasting, that we use the ceremony of anointing: but meaneth thereby, that in our fast we be fresh and merry. Even so St. James, in saying, "Anoint him with oil," doth not set down an order, whereunto he would have the church of God tied for ever: it is not an universal commandment, that the after-ages should do the like: but only a particular ordinance for the time, to use the gift of healing. This is the meaning of his words. Matt. vi. 17.

Let us mark, what abuses have grown by mistaking them. St. James speaketh of bare and simple oil: they understand it of their oil, which they consecrate and hallow in unadvised order. For these words the bishop useth when he conse-

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crateth it: *Ave sanctum oleum, chrisma, balsamum:* "Hail, O holy oil, and chrism, and balsam." Again: *Exorciso te, immunde spiritus, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ut recedas ab hoc oleo, ut possit effici unctio spiritualis, ut Spiritus Sanctus possit in eo habitare:* "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart from this oil, that it may be a spiritual ointment, and that the Holy Ghost may dwell in it." Again: *Emitte quæsumus, sancte Pater, Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum tuum de cœlis in hanc pinguedinem olivæ, ad refectionem corporum, et sanationem animarum:* "O holy Father, we beseech thee send down thy Holy Spirit the Comforter from heaven into this fatness of the olive, to the refreshing of body and soul."

In like sort they are taught to pray over the sick: *Per hanc sanctam unctionem, et suam piissimam misericordiam ignoscat tibi Deus, ut per hanc unctionem habeas remissionem omnium peccatorum:* "By this holy anointing, and by his great mercy God pardon thee, that by this anointing thou mayest have remission of all thy sins."

I devise not these things, I imagine them not of myself, nor report them untruly. The bishop in such words blesseth the oil: and with such words doth the priest anoint the sick with oil: in their books it is easy to be seen. Now judge you, if this were St. James' doctrine, or if this order were kept in the church in the time of the apostles. Would you think that St. James gave courtesy by bowing his body, and saying *Ave* to the oil? Did he speak words of conjuration to drive forth the evil spirit? Would he ever say that the oil doth heal both body and soul? Or that remission of all sins is given by anointing? St. James knew that remission of sins is not given by any creature: that there is no name in heaven or earth by which we are saved, but the name of Jesus only: that the Holy Ghost resteth not, nor dwelleth in oil, but in the hearts of the faithful: that God giveth health, not in respect of the corruptible creature, but at the prayers of the church, which are offered up to him by his Son our Saviour. So great difference is there between the late meaning and the meaning of St. James.

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Such use of the oil we have not, neither doth the church of God allow it. Yet hold we the rule of the apostle in visitation of the sick: when any is sick among us, the minister cometh unto him, and discreetly instructeth him in what sort he should prepare himself to depart this life, and so leadeth him to comfort, and laboureth to make him strong in the certain hope of everlasting life.

Thus he saith: Brother, you are entering the way of all flesh. All the sons of Adam are heirs of this sentence of God upon Adam: "Thou art dust, and to dust thou shalt return." Man that is born of woman is of short continuance, and full of trouble. He shooteth forth as a flower, and is cut down: he vanisheth also as a shadow, and continueth not. Humble thyself under the mighty hand of God. He is our good Father, and doth correct those children whom he loveth. Blessed is he, whom the Lord doth chastise and instruct in his ways.

Here is the proof and trial of your patience and faith: remember the patience of Job, in all his miseries he praised the name of the Lord. Although (said he) he should kill me, yet will I put my trust in God. Although my bowels be consumed within me, and my members of my body be rent asunder, and the pangs be never so great, yet can I not but trust in him. "Love not the world, nor the things that be in the world.....The world passeth away, and the lust thereof." 1 John ii. 15, 17. The wise man saith: "I have considered all the works that are done under the sun, and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit." Eccles. i. 14. Again: "Great travail is created for all men, and an heavy yoke upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things." Ecclus. xl. 1. Christ hath therefore willed us to wake, and be ready, because we know not in what hour our Master will come. He saith, "Behold, I come as a thief: blessed is he which watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness." Rev. xvi. 15.

Examine yourself, consider how, and in what things you have offended God, make a true and humble confession of your sins: say with David, "I have sinned against the Lord, and I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord." Call to mind how you have gotten your goods, how

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you have used them, and whether you have delighted in them, or put any confidence in them. Call to mind how you have taken care for your children and servants, if by your good means, they have been nurtured in the fear of the Lord. In these, and such other parts of your life, lay open your sins, let them come forth before you, acknowledge them against yourself unto the Lord: say boldly, because you may say it truly, I am an unprofitable servant: I have not done that which I ought to have done: there is no good thing dwelling in me: the law in my members hath prevailed against the law of my mind. It cannot be, but God will cast his eyes upon you, and will hear you, and will pardon the wickedness of your sins.

What wanteth in you to the fulness of righteousness, is already satisfied in the righteousness of Christ. God hath said, and sworn, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." And again: "If the wicked will return from all his sins that he hath committed:.....all his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him." The Lord is full of compassion and mercy. For as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us. Christ himself saith, "God so loved the world, that he hath given his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And St. Paul: "God setteth out his love toward us, seeing that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: much more then being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." Thus in time of sickness are we put in mind to examine and view our sins, and to solace ourselves in that blood-shedding of Christ.

Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

Ezek. xviii. 21, 22.

John iii. 16.

Rom. v. 8, 9.

Farther, he that is sick is counselled to call to mind what any man hath trespassed him, and to forgive them: because God is the God of love: and if any man hate his brother, he abideth in death: and we are commanded to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us:" and if we do forgive men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive us. But if we do not forgive men

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their trespasses, no more will our heavenly Father forgive us our trespasses. That so, all we which are redeemed with one price, by the precious blood of the unspotted Lamb, may join together as partakers of one inheritance, and the children of one Father, and so go forward to one glory by one way, and become all one in Jesus Christ our Lord.

In this case, the good father calleth his son unto him, and exhorteth him in this manner. My son, hearken unto me: these be the last words which I shall speak unto thee. Thou seest in me the weakness and decay of flesh: thou shalt be as I am now. One passeth before another, the world and the beauty thereof fade away, and come to an end. Trust not the world, it will deceive thee: walk advisedly: know that thou shalt give an account of thy doings. "For we must all 2 Cor. v. 10. appear before the judgment seat of Christ: that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil."

Deceive no man by wrongful dealing: increase not thy goods by extortion, nor by usury: he that giveth his money unto usury shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Lord. He that taketh usury of his neighbour killeth him without a sword. The Lord will avenge it: he will not bless ill-gotten goods: they cannot prosper: they will never continue, nor remain unto the third heir.

My son, in all thy doings fear the Lord. If thou fear the Lord, thou shalt prosper: and in the day of thine end, thou shalt be blessed. Meddle not much with other men's business, lest thou be entangled with controversies: abhor the slanderer and double-tongued. Let my doings, which am thy father, be ever before thine eyes. Those few goods which I have were truly gotten. I have not gathered them of the tears, and heaviness, and undoing, or hindering of any. Be faithful to thy wife, and besides her, know none other. Help thy neighbour according to thy power: and turn not thy face from the poor and needy. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously: if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little. Be not slow to visit the sick: whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

As for me, I have passed the vanities and miseries of this

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world. The Lord hath given, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord. He is the Lord my God, let him do with me as it seemeth good unto him. I know that this shall hasten my salvation: and that Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death. I have not so lived, that I am ashamed to live. neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. I know, that if my earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, I have a building given of God, that is, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. They that die in the Lord are blessed, they shall rest from their labours. Christ is unto me both in life, and in death, advantage. In such sort do the godly prepare themselves to their journey out of this life.

Then the minister prayeth that he may be constant in this faith: he strengtheneth him, and confirmeth him in it. He exhorteth the sick to commend himself unto God: he prayeth unto God, that he will give his angels charge over him, to keep him and defend him, that he fall not into temptation.

He teacheth him to say, O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Come, Lord Jesus, come, and take me unto thee: Lord, let thy servant depart in peace: thy kingdom come. I am thy son, thine am I, O save me: into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. In this state he dieth, and hath his eyes always fastened upon God, and so seeth how indeed the dead are blessed which die in the Lord.

Thus doth the church of God instruct all men to live, and to die, and to be in readiness. Thus are the sick among us anointed with the inner and invisible oil of the mercy of God. Thus are they put in mind to have the oil of faith, and of a good conscience, and that their lamps may ever be burning, that so they may enter in with the bridegroom: that the day-spring from on high may visit their hearts: and that it may be said unto them, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit ye the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world."

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BISHOP JEWEL'S LETTERS,

LATIN AND ENGLISH.

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[The letter to Scipio is reprinted from the Appendix to Brent's translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, in which it first appeared A. D. 1629. The other letters in chronological order are printed, some from copies of the Zurich collection procured by the Editor, some from originals in England preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the University Library there, and in Her Majesty's State Paper Office; and a few from Strype and other sources, which will be noticed as occasion may require.]

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EPISTOLA[1]

REV. P. JOANNIS JUELLI,

EPISCOPI SARISBURIENSIS, AD VIRUM NOBILEM,

D. SCIPIONEM,

PATRICIUM VENETUM[2].

SCRIBIS ad me familiariter pro ea consuetudine, quæ inter nos summa semper fuit (ex eo usque tempore, quo una viximus Patavii, tu in Reipublicæ tuæ tractatione occupatus, ego in studiis literarum), mirari te, tecumque alios istic multos, cum hoc tempore Concilium generale compo-

[1] [The grounds upon which the Editor considers this Epistle a genuine (though perhaps an unfinished) work of Bishop Jewel's, will be stated in the Preface. Anthony à Wood, in his list of the Bishop's writings, has erroneously assigned as the date A. D. 1559. The internal evidence is in favour of 1562. The writer alludes to the exclusion of the protestant deputies from the Council as having occurred *ten years before:* and we learn from Sleidan, that such an exclusion took place virtually in 1552, just before the sudden suspension of the council, in consequence of war. See the end of book xxiii. It is to be remarked likewise, that in the same part of the Epistle mention is made of pope Pius the Fourth's intended restoration of the Council, which took place Jan. 1562: "Pius Papa IV. is qui nunc instituit Concilium revocare;" a mode of expression, which, while it implies ignorance of the actual reopening of the Council, is similar to that used in the Latin Apol. (supra vol. iv. p. 75.) which was published in the same year. The same result is obtained from the reference, infra p. 5, to the "Bulla celebrationis" as having been issued by Pius IV. twenty months before. The date of that Bull was Nov. 29, 1560, which brings the date of the letter to July 1562. The above calculation agrees also with Jewel's announcement to Peter Martyr, in his letter dated Feb. 7, 1562, (printed below,) that he was about to undertake a statement of the reasons which had induced the English church to decline sending representatives to the council.

The importance of the subject made it seem desirable to place the letter first in this collection, without regard to chronological order.]

[2] [Dr. Wordsworth conjectures, that the nobleman to whom the letter was addressed, was Scipione Biondi, the son of Michel-Angiolo Biondi. Eccl. Biog. iii. 308.]

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nendæ religionis, et contentionis tollendæ causa Tridenti a pontifice indictum sit, et eo jam reliquæ omnes nationes undique convenerunt [convenerint?], solum Angliæ regnum, nec legatum eo aliquem misisse, nec absentiam suam per nuntios, aut literas excusasse: sed sine concilio omnem prope rationem veteris, et avitæ religionis immutasse: quorum alterum superbæ contumaciæ videri ais, alterum perniciosi schismatis. Nefas enim esse, si quis sanctissimam autoritatem defugiat Romani pontificis, aut vocatus ab illo ad Concilium se subducat. Controversias autem de religione non alibi, quam in hujusmodi conventibus fas esse disceptari. Ibi enim esse patriarchas et episcopos; ibi esse ex omni genere hominum viros doctissimos; ab illorum ore petendam esse veritatem; ibi esse lumina Ecclesiarum; ibi esse Spiritum Sanctum; pios principes semper omnes, si quid incidisset ambigui in cultu Dei, illud semper ad publicam consultationem retulisse. Mosen, Josuam, Davidem, Ezechiam, Josiam, aliosque judices, reges, sacerdotes, de rebus divinis non alibi, quam in episcoporum Concilio deliberasse; Apostolos Christi, piosque Patres inter se Concilia celebrasse: sic veritatem emicuisse; sic expugnatas esse hæreses; sic Arium, sic Eunomium, sic Eutychetem, sic Macedonium, sic Pelagium succubuisse; sic hodie dissidia orbis terrarum componi, et ruinas ecclesiæ farciri posse, si positis contentionibus et studiis veniatur ad Concilium: sine Concilio autem quicquam in religione tentari nefas esse.

Atque hæc quidem fere literarum tuarum summa fuit. Ego vero non id mihi nunc sumo, ut tibi pro regno Angliæ, quo quidque consilio factum sit, quicquam respondeam. Neque te id a me requirere, aut velle arbitror. Regum consilia recondita et arcana sunt, et esse debent. Nosti illud, "Nec passim, nec omnibus, nec quibuslibet." Tamen pro nostra inter nos veteri et privata consuetudine (quoniam te id video ita prolixe petere) quid mihi videatur, breviter et amice respondebo: sed ita, ut ait ille, "quantum sciam poteroque," idque tibi non dubito fore satis [2].

Miramur, inquis, legatos ex Anglia ad Concilium non

[2] [Fuller (Church History, book ix.) has given an analysis of the contents of this letter.]

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venire. Obsecro te, an Angli soli ad Concilium non veniunt? an ergo tu Concilio interfuisti? an censum egisti? an capita singula enumerasti? an videbas alias nationes undique omnes convenisse, præter Anglos? Quod si tibi mirari tam cordi est, cur non miraris hoc quoque: aut tres illos memorabiles patriarchas, Constantinopolitanum, Antiochenum, Alexandrinum, aut presbyterum Joannem [3], aut Græcos, Armenios, Medos, Persas, Ægyptios, Mauritanos, Æthiopas, Indos, ad Concilium non venire? An enim multi ex istis omnibus non credunt in Christum? non habent Episcopos? non baptizantur in nomine Christi? non sunt, appellanturque Christiani? An vero ab istis singulis nationibus venerunt legati ad Concilium? An tu hoc potius dices, Papam illos non vocasse, aut illos ecclesiasticis vestris sanctionibus non teneri?

Sed nos hoc miramur magis, papam eos, quos inauditos, indicta causa, pro hæreticis jam antea condemnavit, et publice excommunicatos pronunciavit, eosdem postea vocare voluisse ad Concilium. Homines enim primum damnari atque affici supplicio, deinde eosdem vocari in judicium, absurdum est, et ὕστερον πρότερον. Verum hoc mihi velim responderi, utrum id agat pontifex, ut nobiscum, quos habet pro hæreticis, in Concilio de religione deliberet; an potius, ut nos ex inferiori loco causam dicamus, et vel statim mutemus sententiam, vel iterum e vestigio condemnemur? alterum novum est, et prorsus nostrarum partium hominibus jampridem a Julio papa tertio denegatum: alterum ridiculum est, si id putat, Anglos venturos esse ad Concilium, tantum ut accusentur, et causam dicant, apud illum præsertim [4], qui jamdudum non tantum a nostris, sed etiam a suis gravissimis criminibus accusetur.

Quod si Anglia sola tibi adeo videtur esse contumax, ubi ergo sunt legati regis Daniæ, principum Germaniæ, regis Suetiæ, Helvetiorum, Rhætiorum, liberarum Civitatum, regni

[3] [See vol. vi. p. 476, where a similar line of argument is pursued: "What lawful summons sent your pope Pius either to Preter Gian into Ethiopia, or to other bishops and Christians in India, &c.? But ye say, 'In Persia, Media, Egypt, Mauritania, and in other countries adjoining them, are few Christians to be found, &c.'"]

[4] [So in the Lat. Apol., vol. iv. p. 72: "Deinde etiam iniquum est, "causam nostram a tot episcopis et "abbatibus, ad unius hominis judi-"cium devolvere; ejus præsertim, "qui a nobis gravissimis crimini-"bus accusetur, &c."]

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Scotiæ, ducatus Prussiæ? Cum in Concilio vestro tot desiderentur nationes Christianæ, ineptum est Anglos solos numerare. Sed quid ego istos dico? Pontifex ipse ad Concilium suum non venit, et cur tu hoc etiam non miraris? Quæ enim est ista superbia, unum hominem animi causa, cum libet, convocare omnes reges, principes, episcopos Christianos, eosque velle dicto esse audientes, ipsum solum in illorum conspectum non venire? Certe quum Apostoli agerent conventus Hierosolymis, Petrus Apostolus, de cujus isti sede et successione gloriantur, abesse noluit. Verum, opinor, meminit Pius papa quartus, is qui nunc pontificatum obtinet, quid Joanni XXII. olim acciderit: illum non satis auspicato venisse ad Concilium Constantiense: venisse enim papam, et rediisse Cardinalem [4]. Itaque ex eo tempore pontifices caverunt sibi post principia, et se continuerunt domi, et omnibus Conciliis, ac liberis disceptationibus obstiterunt. Nam ante annos quadraginta cum Doctor Martinus Lutherus omnibus diris et fulminibus a pontifice peteretur, quod docere cœpisset evangelium, et ex verbo Dei religionem instauraret, et summisse petiisset, ut causa sua integra rejiceretur ad cognitionem Concilii generalis, audiri non potuit ullo modo. Leo enim decimus papa satis videbat, si res ad Concilium rediisset, suam etiam rem venire posse in periculum, et seipsum fortasse audire ea posse, quæ nollet.

Pulchrum quidem est nomen Concilii generalis, modo ita, ut oportet, conveniatur; et positis affectionibus omnia referantur ad præscriptum verbi Dei, et uni veritati serviatur. At si aperte religio, et pietas opprimatur, si tyrannis, et ambitio confirmetur, si factionibus, ventri, libidini studeatur, nihil potest cogitari ecclesiæ Dei perniciosius. Atque hæc quidem hactenus ita dico, quasi Concilium istud, quod tu dicis, usquam, aut ullum sit: quod ego prorsus nullum esse arbitror. Aut si uspiam, aut ullum est, certe obscurum et valde arcanum est [5]. Nos enim quamvis non ita procul absumus.

[4] [This was Balthasar de Cossa, commonly called John XXIII., who was condemned and deposed at the Council of Constance, A. D. 1415. Elsewhere Bishop Jewel has confounded this pope with Ossa, usually styled John XXII. Vid. vol. vi. pp. 260–273, with the notes in p. 255 and p. 269.]

[5] [See a passage almost totidem verbis similar to this, infra, in Bp. Jewel's letter to Peter Martyr, Feb.

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tamen quid agatur, [*ap.* Brent agetur] qui episcopi convenerint, vel potius an ulli omnino convenerint, scire adhuc nullo modo possumus. Immo etiam ante viginti menses, cum Concilium istud a pontifice Pio primum indiceretur, Ferdinandus imperator respondit: Quamvis alia omnia convenirent, locum tamen, quem papa delegerat, sibi magnopere displicere. Tridentum enim etsi bella sit civitas, tamen nec satis opportunam esse tot gentibus, nec tantam frequentiam hominum, quantam ad generale Concilium convenire par sit, posse capere. Eadem fere ab aliis principibus Christianis, a quibusdam etiam non paulo asperiora respondebantur. Itaque nos ista omnia una cum Concilio in fumos abiisse credebamus.

Sed obsecro te, quis ille tandem est, qui istud Concilium indixit, et orbem terrarum convocavit? Pius, inquies, Papa quartus. Et cur ille potius quam episcopus Toletanus[6]? qua enim potestate, quo exemplo primitivæ ecclesiæ, quo jure hæc facit? An ita Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, edictis suis orbem terrarum commoverunt? Fuit hoc semper, salvis rebus, jus imperatorum Romanorum proprium. Nunc autem postquam imminutæ sunt vires imperii, et regna in partem Cæsareæ potestatis successerunt, ea potestas communicata est cum principibus et regibus Christianis[7]. Scrutare annales, collige memorias vetustatis. Invenies antiquissima Concilia, Nicænum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, Constantinopolitanum ab imperatoribus Romanis, Constantino, Theodosio primo, Theodosio secundo, Martiano indicta fuisse, non a Romanis pontificibus[8].

Leo pontifex, satis alioqui sui amans, et nulla in re negligens autoritatem sedis suæ Mauritium[9] [*l.* Martianum] im-

7, 1562: a coincidence quite sufficient by itself to prove the genuineness of the letter to Scipio.]

[6] [The reason for this prelate's name being selected is apparently not only on account of the antiquity of his see, but because about this time Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, had been imprisoned by the Inquisition on suspicion of Lutheranism. He appealed to Rome, and died there, never having recovered his diocese. See the Continuation of Sleidan, book ii. sub A.D. 1560.]

[7] [So in the Apology, (vol. iv. p. 80.) "Quo magis nunc miramur "importunitatem episcopi Romani, "qui quod sciat, integris rebus, fuisse "jus imperatoris, nunc autem, post- "quam reges in partem Cæsareæ "majestatis devenerunt, esse jus "commune omnium principum, "&c."]

[8] [See vol. iv. p. 267, and vi. 371.]

[9] [This false print was not noticed in the original edition as it first appeared in Brent's translation of

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peratorem suppliciter oravit, ut Concilium indiceret intra Italiam: quod ille tum locus ei negotio convenire maxime videretur;.....Supplicant, inquit, omnes sacerdotes mansuetudini vestræ, ut.....generalem Synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari [10]. At imperator Concilium illud non intra Italiam, quod pontifex maxime contendebat, sed Chalcedonem in Bithyniam jussit convocari: ut ostenderet jus illud suum esse, et ad se unum pertinere. Et cum Ruffinus in illa concertatione, quam habuit cum Hieronymo, allegasset Synodum; Doce, inquit Hieronymus, quis imperator eam jusserit convocari [11]. Non putabat D. Hieronymus satis firmam esse autoritatem Concilii generalis, nisi illud imperator coegisset. Ego vero non id quæro, quis imperator episcopos hoc tempore jusserit Tridentum evocari: sed papa, qui tantum sibi sumpsit, quo cum imperatore de habendo Concilio deliberaverit, quem regem aut principem Christianum conscium fecerit voluntatis suæ. In jus alterius per fraudem aut vim irrumpere, quodque alienum sit, id sibi tanquam suum usurpare, injurium est. Abuti autem clementia principum, illisque tanquam servis suis imperare, insignis est, et non ferenda contumelia. Nos autem obsequio nostro velle tantam injuriam, et contumeliam confirmare, non minus magna esset injuria. Quare si hoc tantum diceremus, Concilium istud vestrum Tridentinum non esse legitime convocatum, nihil a papa Pio rite atque ordine esse factum, nemo posset absentiam nostram satis juste reprehendere.

Mitto quibus nos injuriis a Romanis pontificibus affecti simus: illos quoties libuit, populum nostrum in principem armavisse: illos regibus nostris sceptra de manibus, et diadema de capite detraxisse: illos regnum Angliæ suum esse, et suo nomine possideri, et reges nostros suo beneficio regnare voluisse: illos proximis istis annis modo Gallum in nos, modo Cæsarem commovisse [12]. Quid autem Pius iste de

Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.]

[10] [S. Leon. Epist. 24. tom. i. 508. ad Theodos. Supra, vol. vi. p. 378.]

[11] [S. Hieronym. tom. iv. part. 2. p. 415. See vol. vi. supra p. 393.]

[12] [See Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 91, where, after giving some instances of this tyrannical usurpation of the popes toward the kings of England, Bishop Jewel proceeds: "Et Henricum ejus nominis Octavum, nobilissimum principem diris et fulminibus defixerunt, et in *illum modo Cæsarem modo Gallum commoverunt.*"]

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nobis consilii ceperit, quid egerit, quid dixerit, quid molitus, quid minatus sit, nihil opus est commemorare. Facta enim ejus, dictaque non ita tecta sunt, et recondita, quin intelligi utcunque possit, quid velit. Quibus autem ille rationibus pontifex factus fuerit, quibusque quasi gradibus ad illam tantam dignitatem ascenderit, nihil dico. Non dico illum corruptis cardinalibus, emptis suffragiis, mercede ac pretio per cuniculos et insidias ad pontificatum aspirasse. Non dico illum nuper admodum, cum solvendo non esset, cardinalem Caraffam, cujus ope reliquorum cardinalium suffragia collegerat, cuique eo nomine debebat magnam vim auri, vinctum in carcere interfecisse [13]. Ista aliaque complura vobis relinquo potius, qui ea et propius videtis, et melius intelligitis. An ergo tu nos ad hominem sanguinarium, ad mercatorem suffragiorum, ad æris alieni negatorem, ad Simoniacum, ad hæreticum miraris non venire? Non est prudentis (mihi crede) velle se conjicere in sedem pestilentiæ, et cum hostibus religionis velle de religione consilium capere. Ad infames (inquit quidam) vetuit me mater accedere. Joannes Apostolus non est ausus in eodem balneo sedere, et una lavare cum Olympio [14], ne una cum illo fulmine de cœlo feriretur. Non sedi, inquit David, in consilio vanitatis, et cum iniqua agentibus non introibo.

Sed esto: sit hoc jus papæ proprium: possit convocare

[13] [See the Continuation of Sleidan's History, sub ann. 1560. According to Ranke's account, (History of the Popes, Miss Austin's translation, book iii. §. 6. vol. i. p. 328,) sentence of death for treason appears to have been passed upon cardinal Caraffa, and the duke of Palliano, in the Consistory, according to the forms of law, and the execution to have followed regularly. Thuanus (Hist. libb. 26 and 28.) reports the whole story much to the pope's disadvantage, as one of many instances of the effect produced upon his character by his elevation, which he doubtless owed to the Caraffas: "Fertur Carolus Ca- "raffa cum duceretur, dixisse, me- "rito eam gratiam Caraffis repen- "di, qui Medicinum ad summum "fastigium evexissent." The trial took place in 1561; the depositions were laid before the Consistory, but the opinion of the members was not asked. "Dein Carolus Caraffa car- "dinalis ab ipso pontifice majestatis "damnatus et omnibus honorum "gradibus exutus, curiæ ut vocant "sæculari castigandus traditur: "mandatumque rerum capitalium "quæsitori ut in eum juxta sanc- "tiones civiles jure ageret; cujus "jussu in Hadriani mole carnificis "manu strangulatus est, spatio prius "petito, quo vii psalmos pœniten- "tiales recitaret." Jewel's statement therefore is substantially correct.]

[14] [The story is usually and more correctly told of the heretic Cerinthus. See Euseb. lib. 4. c. 14.]

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concilia: possit terrarum orbi imperare: sint ea falsa et vana quæ diximus de potestate Cæsaris et jure regio: sit Pius papa vir bonus, sit recte, sit legitime factus pontifex: nullius vitam petiverit; Caraffam in carcere non occiderit: tamen Concilia æquum est esse libera, ut adsit, qui velit, cui adesse non sit commodum, abesse liceat. Ea olim melioribus æquitas et moderatio servabatur. Non ita tum serviliter cogebantur principes, ut si quis forte mansisset domi, aut legatos ad Concilium non misisset, statim omnium digitis atque oculis notaretur. In Concilio Nicæno, in Ephesino, in Constantinopolitano, in Chalcedonensi, quæso te, quis explorator observavit, qui abessent? Atqui nullus tum adfuit legatus, nec ex Anglia, nec e Scotia, nec e Polonia, nec ex Hispania, nec e Pannoniis, nec e Dania, nec ex tota Germania. Vide, lege, recognosce subscriptiones; invenies ita rem habere, ut dico. Et cur non miraris Anglos tum ad illa Concilia ita plena, ita præclara, ita celebria, ita frequentia, non venisse? Aut episcopos Romanos ita tum fuisse patientes, ut illos non condemnarent contumaciæ? Verum nondum creverat ista tyrannis pontificia: fas tum erat sanctis episcopis et patribus pro suo commodo sine fraude manere domi. Paulus Apostolus noluit sese dare in Concilium Hierosolymitanum, sed potius appellavit ad Cæsarem. Athanasius episcopus[15], quamvis vocaretur ab imperatore ad Concilium Cæsariense, tamen venire noluit[16]. Idem in Concilio Syrmiano[17], cum rem videret inclinare ad Arianos, statim subduxit se, atque abiit: ejusque exemplum sequuti episcopi occidentis ad illud Concilium venire recusarunt. Johannes Chrysostomus ad Concilium Arianorum non accessit, quamvis ab imperatore Con-

[15] [In the Apol. Lat. supra vol. iv. p. 76, will be found a passage almost identical with this in the line of argument, in the order in which the precedents are named, and in the form of the expression. There is also the same allusion to the withdrawal of St. Athanasius from the council of Syrmium; on which see the Editor's note, vol. vi. p. 297, note [43]. All this seems conclusive evidence as to the authorship of the Epistle to Scipio.]

[16] [Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 28. tom. iii. p. 60.]

[17] [The council of Syrmium met A. D. 357, as Baronius has proved, and not as Socrates placed it in 351. It is remarkable in the history of the church, as having given occasion in its first confession to the lapse of pope Liberius, and in its second to that of Hosius of Cordova, who was however so broken by age that he was hardly responsible for his actions.]

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stantio[18] et literis et nuntiis vocaretur. Cum Arianorum episcopi in Palæstina convenissent, et maximam partem suffragiorum secum traherent, Paphnutius senex et Maximus Hierosolymorum episcopus una e medio conventu discesserunt[19]. Cyrillus episcopus a Patropassianorum Concilio appellavit. Paulinus episcopus Trevirensis venire noluit ad Concilium Mediolanense, quod videret propter gratiam et potentiam imperatoris Constantii, omnia ruere ad Auxentium Arianum[20]. Episcopi[21] qui ad Concilium Constantinopolitanum convenerant, ad Concilium Romanum, quo vocabantur, venire noluerunt. Quod tamen illis fraudi non fuit, quamvis imperatoris literis vocarentur. Satis ea tum justa excusatio esse videbatur, quod ecclesiarum suarum curæ, atque instaurationi studendum esset: quamvis viderent Arianos per omnes jam ecclesias grassari, et ad minuendam illorum rabiem magnum pondus habituram esse præsentiam suam.

Quid si idem illud episcopi nunc nostri responderent, non esse otium a sacro ministerio, sese prorsus occupatos esse in restituendis ecclesiis suis: non posse abesse domo quinque, sex, septem annos, ibi præsertim, ubi nihil possint promovere? non enim ita otiosi sunt episcopi nostri, ut sunt qui Romæ deliciantur in palatiis, et sectantur cardinales, et venantur sacerdotia. Ita enim misere perditæ sunt ab istis, atque eversæ ecclesiæ nostræ, ut nec parvo tempore, nec mediocri diligentia possint instaurari. Nunc autem aperte videmus obsideri ab istis nostra tempora, ut, cum minime necesse sit,

[18] [In the Hist. Tripart. lib. x. c. 13, referred to in the margin of the Apol. Lat., no mention is made of the emperor's share in these citations. Socrates (t. ii. 332.) and Photius say, that, upon Chrysostom's appealing to a general council, he was cited by this synod (ad Quercum) four several times: and it appears that during the proceedings a notary brought an edict from the emperor to enforce the bishop's compliance with the summons. According to the Latin Apology, Arcadius is correctly named as the emperor who supported the summons against St. Chrysostom: in lady Bacon's translation, as well as in the text, it is attributed to *Constantius*. This ought to have been noticed supra vol. vi. p. 297.]

[19] [This was the synod of Tyre above alluded to, where Athanasius after his withdrawal was condemned. Ruff. lib. x. c. 17. Socrat. lib. i. c. 31. Sozomenus. The words of Paphnutius were, "Let us be gone, since it becomes not confessors, who have lost their limbs for religion's sake, to act with impious men."]

[20] [Hist. Tripart. lib. v. c. 15.]

[21] [This fact is not named in the corresponding passage of the Apology.]

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foras distrahamur, et nec domi propagare possimus evangelium, et in Concilio ab ipsis impediamur.

Simulat[22] enim papa, ne nescias, non cogitat Concilium: neque enim tu illum quicquam putes sincere, et vere agere. Qui nescit simulare (dicere solebat olim rex Ludovicus undecimus Carolo octavo) nescit regnare: multo vero magis, qui nescit dissimulare, et consilia sua vultu tegere, ut nunc quidem est, nescit agere pontificem. Illa enim sedes tota meræ nititur hypocrisi: quæ quo minus habet nativi roboris, eo pluribus coloribus opus habet. Nam si putabant pontifices, tantam esse vim Concilii generalis ad tollenda schismata, cur illi rem tam necessariam tam diu distulerunt? cur triginta totos annos quieverunt, et Lutheri doctrinam radices agere pertulerunt? Cur Concilium non primo quoque tempore indixerunt? Cur Synodum Tridentinam reluctantes et inviti, magisque imperatoris Caroli impulsu, quam sua voluntate convocarunt? Cumque Tridenti decem prope annos versarentur, cur tanta deliberatione nihil egerunt? cur rem infectam reliquerunt? Quis impediebat? quis obstabat? Crede hoc mihi, mi frater, non agunt id nunc pontifices, ut Concilium celebretur, aut religio Dei restituatur, quam illi prorsus habent pro ludibrio. Id agunt, id quærunt, id pugnant, ut magnifica expectatione Concilii generalis hominum piorum animos, atque orbem terrarum ludificentur.

Vident jamdudum imminui, et ruere opes suas: artes suas non esse nunc eodem loco, quo fuerunt olim: incredibilem numerum hominum in dies singulos a se dilabi: non esse nunc, qui tanta frequentia currant Romam: non esse, qui indulgentias, interdictiones, benedictiones, absolutiones, et inanes bullas, aut tanti faciant, aut tanti emant: cæremoniarum suarum, et missarum nundinas, et omnem illum fucum meretricium, non magni fieri; magnam partem tyrannidis, et pompæ suæ concidisse: redditus suos angustiores nunc esse, quam solebant[23]; sese, suosque rideri passim a pueris: omnino in discrimen venisse summam rerum. Nec mirum, si ea corruant, quæ nullis radicibus sustinebantur. Extinxit

[22] [A similar expression occurs in Apol. Latin. supra vol. iv. p. 71. "De isto vero concilio, quod nunc a Pio pontifice *simulatur*," &c.]

[23] [The same words occur Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 94.]

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illa omnia Salvator noster Jesus Christus, non armis, aut vi militum, sed cœlesti impulsu, et spiritu oris sui: consumet autem, atque abolebit claritate adventus sui. Hæc est vis verbi Dei, hæc est potestas Evangelii; hæc sunt arma, quibus evertitur omnis munitio, quæ ædificata est adversus cognitionem Dei. Prædicabitur hæc doctrina, invitis omnibus, per universum orbem. Portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adversus eam. Frigent nunc Romæ tabernæ meritoriæ: illorum merces (quasi bona Porsennæ venirent) vilissimo pretio proscribuntur: et vix quisquam est, qui velit emere. Circuit mercator indulgentiarius, et fatuos non invenit. Hoc illud est, hinc illæ lachrymæ, hæc res pontifices male habet[24]. Vident hanc tantam lucem ex una scintilla erupisse. Quid nunc futurum, postquam tot ignes ubique terrarum accensi sunt, et tot reges et principes Christiani agnoscunt, et profitentur evangelium? Non enim illi Jesu Christo serviunt, sed suo ventri. Aiunt[25] Carneadem philosophum, cum olim esset Romæ, et memorabilem illam haberet orationem contra justitiam, inter alia hoc etiam addidisse: Eam virtutem, si quidem ea virtus esset, nulli hominum generi minus ex usu fore, quam Romanis. Illos enim per vim, et latrocinium regna sibi aliena subegisse, perque summam injustitiam ad imperium orbis terrarum pervenisse. Quod si nunc tandem velint justitiam colere, restituenda esse illa omnia quæ injuste teneant: ad casas pastoritias, et frigida tuguria, quæ sola habuerant ab initio, esse redeundum. Ita prorsus isti, si vere velint agere, et simulationem ponere, et officium facere, et suum cuique reddere, vident sibi redeundum esse ad virgam et peram, ad sobrietatem, et modestiam, ad labores, ad munus episcopi. Audiverunt enim Augustinum dicere, Episcopum nomen esse operis, non honoris: et illos non esse episcopos, qui velint præesse, et non prodesse[26]. Itaque istud evangelium latius diffundi, et ad plures propagari, vident,

[24] [Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 94. "Nam "hæc omnia inter nos facile com- "poni possent, nisi ambitio, venter, "luxus impedirent: hinc illæ lacry- "mæ; animus est in patinis. Id "scilicet clamant, atque obstrepunt, "ut male parta fœdius et nequius "teneantur. Queruntur hodie de "nobis indulgentiarii, datarii, quæ- "stores, lenones, aliique," &c.]

[25] [This speech is reported by Lactantius, Divin. Instit. lib. v. c. 14. and c. 16.]

[26] [S. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. 19. cap. 19. tom. vii. p. 563.]

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nulli hominum generi minus expedire, quam sibi: se enim salvos esse non posse, si sani esse velint. Ergo nunc tumultuantur, et turbant omnia, ut olim Demetrius faber, postquam vidit sibi periisse spem lucri. Ergo nunc Concilia indicuntur, et abbates atque episcopi ad partes advocantur. Hæc enim illis ratio visa est callidissima, ut tempus in aliquot annos protraheretur, ut hominum animi expectatione suspenderentur: multa, ut fit, posse intervenire: bellum posse excitari: aliquem ex istis principibus posse mori: istos tantos impetus ad evangelium diuturnitate posse obtundi: languere posse hominum voluntates. Interea, inquit quidam, fiet aliquid spero.

Olim cum (victis ac triumphatis Persis) Athenienses mœnia sua, quæ illi solo æquaverant, cœpissent instaurare, et Lacedæmonii, quo magis haberent eos in potestate, ne id facerent, magnopere edixissent: Themistocles dux Atheniensis, vir prudens, cum videret salutem patriæ suæ venire posse in periculum, pollicitus est sese venturum Lacedæmona, et de ea re velle cum ipsis una deliberare. Ille ubi se dedisset in viam, quo tempus eximeret, primum morbum simulavit, ut diutius hæreret in itinere: deinde cum venisset Lacedæmona, multa de industria frustrari cœpit: modo pacta non placere: modo deliberationem petere: modo socios legationis, sine quibus nihil agi posset, expectare: modo legatos Athenas mittere. Interea, dum ille cunctatur, Athenienses clauserant mœnibus civitatem, et si vis fieret, sese paraverant ad defendendum. Ita isti, dum diem de die proferunt, et rem omnem referri volunt ad Concilia, ædificant interea sua mœnia, nobis otiosis, et nescio quid expectantibus, ut ad extremum, confirmatis suis rationibus, nos prorsus excludant, et neque Concilium haberi, neque quicquam omnino agi possit.

Operæ pretium enim est videre istorum artes, et stratagemata; quoties indicta Concilia non coiverint; quoties exiguus rumusculus universum apparatum, et omnem expectationem disturbarit: quoties patres in medio itinere repente substiterint: quoties purpurati Amphictyones e medio conventu, re infecta, dilapsi sint domum, et proximum actum in nonum, decimumque annum distulerint? quoties cœlum, quoties annona, quoties locus, quoties tempus non placuerit? Pontifex enim solus convocat Concilia, et solus dimittit,

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cum vult. Si quid non placuit, aut si res non recte ire cœpit, statim auditur: Valete, et plaudite. Indicitur Concilium Basileam: convenitur undique magno numero, agitur serio de rebus multis: Eugenius papa ut simoniacus et schismaticus omnibus suffragiis condemnatur: in ejus locum Amideus dux Sabaudiæ[27] surrogatur. Accipit id indigne, ut debuit, Eugenius: rem eam pessimi exempli esse ad posteros: potestatem, et vim suam longe esse super omnia Concilia: non posse Concilium nec convenire, nisi jussu suo: nec decernere quicquam nisi quantum ipse velit: impium esse in conventiculo episcoporum inquisitionem fieri de vita sua. Non mora, Concilium Ferraram revocat in Italiam, post idem transfert Florentiam. Quid hoc, quæso, rei est? An putabat Eugenius papa cœlum animos mutare, aut Spiritum Sanctum prudentius in Italia responsurum esse[28], quam antea responderat in Germania? Immo vero, ille tot illis mutationibus non Christum quærebat, sed suum commodum. Videbat in Germania imperatorem Sigismundum inimicum suum, nimium et autoritate valere et gratia: et patres illos, qui Basileam convenerant, si ex illis duris et asperis regionibus migrassent in Italiam (ut arbores cum transplantantur) fieri posse mitiores. Nam (ô Deum immortalem!) non id nunc agitur aut quæritur in Conciliis, aut ut veritas inveniatur, aut ut mendacia refutentur. Hoc solum semper fuit proximis istis sæculis studium pontificum in Conciliis, ut tyrannis Romana constitueretur: ut bella susciperentur: ut principes Christiani inter se committerentur: ut pecunia colligeretur, modo in terram sanctam, modo in fabricam Petri, modo in nescio quos usus, seu verius abusus alios: quæ tota in paucos quosdam ventres, in luxum et libidinem conjiceretur. Atque hæc unica fuit aliquot jam sæcula ratio Conciliorum. Nam de erroribus et abusibus, quasi nulli essent, nihil unquam agi potuit.

[27] [Amedeus VIII., first duke of Savoy, after reigning some years, retired to solitude in his castle de Ripaille. In 1440 he was chosen pope by the council of Basle, and took the name of Felix V. He was married, the Council expressly defining, that he was not disqualified on that account. After a schism of nine years he resigned the papacy to Nicolas, contenting himself with the dignity of a cardinal. He died A. D. 1451.]

[28] [Vid. vol. vi. p. 253, and the note.]

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Petrus Alliacensis in Constantiensi Concilio multum questus est de avaritia, et insolentia curiæ Romanæ. At quid promovit? quæ unquam pars illorum avaritiæ aut insolentiæ Concilii autoritate repressa est? Idem ait festos dies, et otiosorum Monachorum greges sibi videri minuendos [29]: et alius quispiam (in opere quodam, quod appellatur tripartitum, et adjunctum est ad Concilium Lateranum), Totus, inquit, fere mundus obloquitur, et scandalizatur de tanta multitudine religiosorum pauperum ..... [30]. Et patres in Concilio Lateranensi,.....Firmiter, inquiunt, præcipimus [*l.* prohibemus], ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat [31]. Ex eo tempore quid de festis diebus factum sit, nescio: probabile tamen est, nihil esse imminutum: at monachorum ordines aucti etiam sunt in infinitum. Nam a proximis pontificibus additi sunt Jesuitæ, Cappuchini, Theatini [32]: quasi pigrorum ventrum nondum etiam esset satis. Johannes Gerson, cancellarius Parisiensis, in Concilio Constantiensi obtulit patribus septuaginta quinque abusus in ecclesia Romana, quos vehementer cuperet emendatos [33]. At ex tanto numero, quem illi unum abusum unquam sustulerunt? Johannes Picus Mirandula scribit ad Leonem papam, ut minuat inanes cærimonias, et coerceat luxum sacerdotum [34]. Sederunt postea episcopi magna frequentia, et magna expectatione in Concilio Laterano. At quam unam cærimoniam imminuerunt, in quo uno sacerdote luxum et nequitiam damnaverunt? Mantuanus poeta queritur nominatim de moribus ecclesiæ Romanæ [35]: Bernardus abbas ita scribit ad Eugenium papam: Aula tua recipit bonos, non facit, mali ibi proficiunt, boni deficiunt [36].

[29] [See Histoire du Concile de Constance, par Lenfant, vol. ii. 294 and 345.]

[30] [Opus Tripart. lib. 3. cap. 3. ad calcem Concil. Lateran. ap. Crabb. tom. ii. p. 1000.]

[31] [Concil. Lateran. sub Innocentio III. cap. 13. Crabb. Concill. tom. ii. p. 952: supra vol. vi. p. 43.]

[32] [The Jesuits were confirmed by pope Paul III. A. D. 1540, as the Capuchins had been under Clement VII. in 1525: the Theatines, founded by John Caraffa, bishop of Theatea, Civita di Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, (afterwards Paul IV.) were confirmed by the same pope in the said year 1525.]

[33] [The Editor has not discovered the authority for this exact enumeration of abuses.]

[34] [Mirandula. Opp. tom. ii. 890. See Def. of the Apology, vol. vi. p. 294, note 39.]

[35] (Baptist. Mantuanus, in Fast. lib. 4. lin. 174. De Calam. Tempor. lib. 3. lin. 99. 121.]

[36] [Bernard. de Consid. lib. 4. (tom. i. 445.) See vol. ii. supra p. 213, note 44.]

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Et de miserabili statu ecclesiæ, qui tum erat; A planta, inquit, pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est in ea sanitas[37]. Et rursus, Ubi est, inquit, qui prædicet annum acceptabilem Domini? Non custodiunt, inquit, hoc tempore sponsam Christi, sed perdunt: non pascunt gregem Domini, sed mactant, et devorant[38]. Adrianus papa sextus, cum legatum mitteret in Germaniam, ingenue, et vere fassus est corruptissimum esse statum universi cleri. Omnes, inquit, nos prælati ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in viam suam, nec est jam qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum[39]. Albertus Pighius fatetur in ipsa Missa, quam illi sacrosanctam esse volunt, et in qua una cardinem religionis Christianæ constituunt, abusus et errores inveniri[40]. Quid plura? mitto alios testes; sunt enim infiniti[41]. Habita sunt postea Concilia complura, convocati sunt episcopi, Synodus Basiliensis indicta est nominatim, uti illi tum præ se ferebant, de reformatione totius cleri: at ex eo tempore errores ubique aucti sunt, vitia etiam sacerdotum conduplicata sunt. Cardinales a Paulo papa tertio delecti[42] ad considerandum statum ecclesiæ, renuntiarunt, multa esse in ea, et præsertim in episcoporum et clericorum moribus vitiosa. Episcopos otiosos esse, non docere populum, non pascere gregem, non curare vineam: versari in aulis principum, abesse domo: cardinalibus episcopatus, modo ternos, modo quaternos commendari, idque magno cum ecclesiæ detrimento fieri: illa enim officia non esse (uti loquuntur) compatibilia. Conventuales ordines prorsus ex ecclesia tollendos esse[43]. Postea habitum est Concilium Tridenti; sed an episcopi cœperunt ex eo tempore pascere gregem? an desierunt, aut abesse domo, aut versari

[37] [Bernard. de Conv. Paul. tom. i. 962.]

[38] [Bernard. in Cantic. i. 1397.]

[39] [So in the Apology: "What if I say that Adrian the bishop of Rome did frankly confess, that all these mischiefs brast out from the high throne of the pope of Rome?" See vol. iv. p. 51, and Def. Apol. vol. v. p. 497. The authority for the statement is Sleid. lib. 4. ann. 1523, and the Fasciculus rerum sciendarum.]

[40] [Pighius de Privata Missa, Contr. Ratisp. sub fin. See vol. iv. supra p. 51.]

[41] [Apol. Lat. iv. p. 75. "Fuerunt ex ipsis aliqui qui errores in "ecclesia complures deprehende-"rint: Adrianus papa, Æneas Syl-"vius, Polus cardinalis, aliique, uti "jam diximus."]

[42] [Concil. delectorum Cardinalium, ap. Crabb. tom. iii. p. 820—825. No less than twenty-three distinct abuses, many of them most flagrant, are exposed in this remarkable document, which has been since placed in the Index Expurgatorius!]

[43] [Ibid. ap. Crabb. tom. iii. p. 822.]

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in aulis principum? an cardinales desierunt esse episcopi? aut prospectum est, ne quid ecclesia ex ea re detrimenti caperet? an imminuti sunt ordines conventuales? an religio apud eos est emendatior? quid ergo necesse fuit tot episcopos tam procul convocari, aut de emendanda ecclesia tot annos frustra deliberari? hoc scilicet illud est, Pharisæos restituere velle templum Dei [42].

Fatentur errores et abusus: convocant Concilia, simulant studium religionis et pietatis, pollicentur operam et industriam, quicquid collapsum est, id omne se velle una nobiscum instaurare; sic scilicet, ut olim hostes populi Dei dicebant, se velle una cum Nehemia ædificare templum Domini. Non enim illi id quærebant, ut templum Domini ædificarent, sed ut quam maxime possent ædificationem impedirent. Redire volunt nobiscum in gratiam, sed ita, ut olim Naas tyrannus cum Judæis Jabensibus [43], non alia lege, quam ut sinamus nobis exculpi dextros oculos: hoc est, ut verbum Dei, et evangelium salutis nostræ nobis eripi patiamur.

An enim illis curæ est religio? an illi curant ecclesiam Dei; quibus nec Dei vindicta, nec salus populi, nec ulla pars officii sui unquam curæ fuit? Pan, inquiunt, curet oves, ipsi interim belligerantur, venantur, obsonantur: ut ne quid dicam fœdius. O Deum immortalem! quis istos putet unquam de ecclesia Dei, aut de religione cogitare! quando isti, aut quos errores unquam tollent? quam lucem nobis restituent? quicquid dicas, etiamsi solem ipsum geras in manibus, tamen videre nolunt: manifestos errores, quantum possunt, excusant, pingunt, comunt, ut olim Symmachus, aut Porphyrius errores, et ineptias Ethnicorum: omninoque id agunt, ne populum Dei in fraudem induxisse, neve quid ipsi unquam errasse videantur. Aut si quid in animum inducunt emendare, quod aut nunquam, aut valde raro et perparce faciunt; ut olim Alexandrum imperatorem Romanum, quum non prorsus abhorreret a religione Christiana, aiunt, in eodem sacrario, et Christum coluisse, et Orpheum [44]: utque veteres olim Samaritani una et veri Dei cultum retinuerunt, et cultum idolorum: ita illi, ea lege recipere volunt partem forte

[42] [See the same illustration in Apol. Lat. supra vol. iv. p. 75.]

[43] [1 Sam. xi. 2. See the same comparison supra Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 88. and Def. of Apol. vol. vi. p. 493.]

[44] [Vid. Ælium Lamprid. in vita Alex. Severi, cap. 29.]

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aliquam evangelii, ut una superstitiones et aniles errores admittant: ita recipiunt vera, ut falsa retineant: ita probant nostra, ut sua non improbent. Atque ita non tollunt abusus, sed colorant: et veteres columnas novo tantum tectorio inducunt.

Ad hunc modum ab istis ecclesia Dei emendatur, sic conventus et concilia celebrantur: veritati non servitur, sed affectibus. Melior pars a majori superatur. Pulchrum quidem et gloriosum est nomen ipsum Concilii generalis: sed ex pulchro calice sæpe venenum propinatur. Non enim satis est episcopos aliquot et abbates unum in locum convenisse: non in mitra, aut purpura sita est vis Concilii, nec quicquid Concilium decrevit, statim habendum est pro oraculo. Concilium erat, de quo propheta Esaias scribit: Væ filiis defectoribus, dicit Dominus, qui cogunt Concilium, et non ex me: et, in te, inquit, Concilium, et dissipabitur [45]. Concilium erat de quo propheta David ita loquitur: Excitati sunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus [46]. Concilium erat quod Filium Dei Jesum Christum damnavit ad crucem. Concilium erat quod Carthagini celebratum est sub Cypriano [47], in quo decretum est, baptizatos ab hæreticis, quum redissent ad ecclesiam, esse rebaptizandos: quem errorem oportuit postea tot Conciliis, et patrum scriptis revocari. Et quid multis opus est? Concilium Ephesinum secundum aperte fecit pro Eutychete; humanam in Christo naturam conversam esse in divinitatem [48]: Concilium Nicænum secundum decrevit manifestam idololatriam de adoratione statuarum: Concilium Basiliense, ut Albertus Pighius ait, decrevit contra omnem antiquitatem, contra naturam, contra rationem, contra verbum Dei [49]. Concilium Ariminense impie decrevit pro Arianis, Christum non esse Deum. Alia Concilia deinceps multa, Smyrnense [50], Aërium, Seleucianum, Syrmianum, et Homoüsianos condemnaverunt,

[45] [Isai. xxx. 1. The word there, however, is according to the Vulgate "consilium."]

[46] [Psalm ii. 2.]

[47] [Concil. Carth. ap. Routh, Reliq. Sacræ, iii.]

[48] [More properly the 3d, called Latrocinale: A.D. 449. Vid. S. Leon. epist. 12. ap. Crabb. tom. i. 645.]

[49] [Albert. Pighius de Hierarch. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 402. See supra, vol. i. 391, and vi. 473.]

[50] [Concil. Smyrnense et Aërium. There is no mention of either of these Councils in any collection. The Concil. Seleucian. took place A. D. 359.]

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et Ariminensis Concilii impietati subscripserunt. Quid quæris? ipsum etiam Concilium Chalcedonense, quod unum erat ex illis quatuor, quæ Gregorius cum quatuor evangeliis comparavit, Leo Papa non dubitavit accusare temeritatis [50].

Itaque videmus, Concilia Conciliis sæpe contraria extitisse: utque Leo pontifex acta sustulit Adriani, Stephanus Formosi, Joannes Stephani; utque Sabinianus papa, omnia scripta Gregorii papæ, ut perversa et impia, jussit comburi: ita videmus Concilium posterius sæpe omnia superioris Concilii decreta sustulisse. Carthaginense Concilium decrevit, ne Romanus episcopus appellaretur, aut summus sacerdos, aut princeps sacerdotum, aut aliud quippiam simile [51]. At postera Concilia, illum non tantum summum sacerdotem, sed etiam summum pontificem, et caput universalis ecclesiæ appellaverunt. Eliberinum Concilium decrevit, ne quid, quod colitur, jus fasque esset, ut in templorum parietibus pingeretur [52]. Concilium Constantinopolitanum decrevit imagines non esse ferendas in templis Christianorum. Contra, Concilium Nicænum secundum, imagines in templis non tantum ponendas esse censuit, sed etiam adorandas [53]. Lateranense Concilium sub Julio papa secundo, non alia causa indictum est, quam ut Pisani Concilii decreta rescinderet. Ita episcopi sæpe posteriores prioribus adversantur, et Concilia alia aliorum luminibus obstruunt. Isti enim ne suis quidem Conciliis teneri volunt, nisi quantum placet, quantumque commodum est, et facit πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιτα. Basiliense Concilium decrevit, Concilium episcoporum esse supra papam. At Concilium Lateranense sub Leone decrevit, papam esse supra Concilium [54]. Papa vero non solum ita se gerit, sed etiam si quis contra sentiat, eum habere jubet pro hæretico. Atqui omnes episcopi et abbates in Concilio Basiliensi, Si quis, inquiunt, istis veritatibus sese opponit, pro hæretico

[50] [See an account of this matter supra, vol. iv. pp. 258—260. The censure of the council by pope Leo will be found in the 50th epistle, (opp. tom. i. 617.)]

[51] [Concil. Carth. 3. can. 26. (Mansi iii. 884.) "Ut primæ sedis "episcopus non appelletur prin- "ceps sacerdotum, aut summus sa- "cerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi: "sed tantum primæ sedis episco- "pus."]

[52] [Concil. Eliberit. (Mansi, tom. ii. 11.) Vid. supr. vol. iv. p. 59, and vi. p. 27.]

[53] [Concil. Nic. 2. (Mansi xii. 1087.)]

[54] [Concil. Later. sub Leone X. sessione 11. Harduin. ix. p. 1828.]

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habendus est[55]. Obsecro te, quid tu hic facias? quicquid dicas, aut sentias, vel papa te, vel Concilium habebit pro hæretico. Omnes autem papæ, aliquot jam sæculis, sese istis Basiliensis Concilii veritatibus opposuerunt: ergo judicio Basiliensis Concilii, aliquot jam sæcula omnes papæ fuerunt hæretici. Idem Concilium omnibus suffragiis summovit papam Eugenium, hominem simoniacum, et schismaticum, et illi successorem dedit Amideum. At Eugenius papa Concilii decretum flocci fecit, et quamvis maxime esset simoniacus et schismaticus, tamen non desiit esse successor Petri, et vicarius Christi, et caput universæ ecclesiæ Dei: et invitis omnibus dignitatem priorem retinebat, utque antea solitus fuerat, in cervicibus hominum nobilium sublimis magnifice ferebatur. Amideus autem homo simplex, quasi ex equo delapsus, humi pedibus ambulabat, satisque sibi beatus esse videbatur, quod de papa factus esset cardinalis. Concilium proximum Tridentinum edixit[56], ut episcopi docerent populum, neve quisquam unus duo, plurave sacerdotia haberet eodem tempore: isti contra edictum Concilii sui cumulant sacerdotia, et nihil docent. Ita scribunt leges, quibus ipsi teneri nolint, nisi quum lubet. Tanti scilicet semper fecerunt Concilia, et decreta sua.

Nunc vero quid est, cur eventum speremus hoc tempore meliorem? qua enim gratia, qua expectatione, qua spe venitur in Concilium? Hoc enim tantum tecum cogita, quinam tandem homines illi sint, quorum fide, doctrina, judicio, moles totius Concilii, et omnium istarum quæstionum disceptatio, et summa rerum niti debeat? Abbates quidem appellantur, et episcopi, graves personæ, et pulchra nomina: utque existimatur, magni instar momenti in administranda ecclesia Dei. At si illis nomina tantum ea, et personam, et vestem tollas, nihil habent aliud nec abbatis, nec episcopi simile[57]. Non

[55] [Concil. Basil. Crabb. tom. iii. p. 106. "Veritas de potestate Concilii generalis universalem ecclesiam repræsentantis supra papam et quemlibet alterum.... est veritas fidei catholicæ. Veritas hæc, quod papa Concilium generale &c. sine ejus consensu nullatenus authoritative potest dissolvere, aut ad aliud tempus prorogare, aut de loco ad locum tranferre, est veritas fidei catholicæ. Veritatibus duabus prædictis pertinaciter repugnans, est censendus hæreticus." 17. Calend. Jun. 1439.]

[56] [Concil. Trident. ap. Crabb. tom. iii. p. 1014. sqq.]

[57] [Apol. Lat. supra, vol. iv. p. 72.]

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enim sunt ministri Christi, non dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, non incumbunt lectioni, non docent evangelium, non pascunt gregem, non colunt terram, non plantant vineam, non accendunt ignem, non portant arcam Domini, non obeunt legationem pro Christo; non vigilant, non faciunt opus evangelistæ, non implent ministerium suum: implicant se negotiis sæcularibus: abscondunt thesaurum Domini sui, auferunt claves regni Dei; non ingrediuntur ipsi, nec alios ingredi patiuntur, pulsant conservos suos, pascunt seipsos, gregem non pascunt: dormiunt, stertunt, convivantur, luxuriantur: nubes sine aqua, stellæ sine luce, canes muti, ventres pigri: utque Bernardus ait, non prælati, sed Pilati: non doctores, sed seductores: non pastores, sed impostores: servi, inquit, Christi, serviunt Antichristo [58]. Istis solis pontifices volunt locum esse, et suffragandi potestatem in Concilio: in istorum judicio ac potestate versari volunt curam, et procurationem universæ ecclesiæ Christi: istos nunc solos Pius papa delegit ad spem suam. At quos (ô Deus bone!) homines, quales viros? quanquam, ut ipsi quidem putant, ridiculum est, velle hoc quærere. Quam enim docti, quamque pii sint, quid velint, quid sentiant, inquiunt, nihil refert. Satis videlicet est, si sedere possint in mula, et magna pompa, et strepitu vehi per publicum, et venire in Concilium, et nihil dicere. Si mihi forte non credis, ac me potius putas animi causa ista fingere: audi ergo judicium honorarium, quid ea de re sacrosancta facultas, et Sorbona tota decreverit. Quod magistri, inquiunt, nostri dicunt de legitima congregatione, notandum est ad hoc, ut Concilium legitime congregetur, sufficere quod solemnitas, et forma juris solemniter sit servata. Quia si quis trahere vellet hoc in disputationem, utrum prælati, qui ibi sedent, habeant rectam intentionem, et utrum sint docti, et utrum habeant scientiam sacrarum literarum, et animum obediendi sanæ doctrinæ, esset processus in infinitum. Isti videlicet, qui tanquam Mercuriales statuæ muti sedeant, et quid sit religio prorsus nesciant, de universa religione recte et commode respondebunt, et quicquid dicunt, errare non queunt.

Istos omnes pontifex habet, non tantum errore et igno-

[58] [Bernardus in Concil. Rem. Mansi xxi. 472. Supra, vol. v. 509.]

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rantia, sed etiam jurejurando, et religione obstrictos sibi [59]: ut etiamsi recte sentiant, tamen, nisi perjuri esse velint, quod sentiunt pronuntiare, et veritatem palam profiteri, et præ se ferre non possint: prorsus, ut vel homini fides fallenda sit, vel Deo. Sic enim omnes jurant conceptis verbis. Ego N. episcopus ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero sancto Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, domino meo papæ N. ejusque successoribus canonice intrantibus: Non ero, neque in consilio, neque in facto, ut vitam perdat, aut membrum; vel capiatur mala captione. Consilium, quod mihi, aut per literas, aut per nuncium manifestabit, ad ejus damnum nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ, et regulas sanctorum patrum adjutor ero ad defendendum, et retinendum contra omnes homines [60]. Olim, quum sacerdotes Apollinis Pythii aperte loquerentur in gratiam Philippi regis, erant qui facete dicerent, Pythium cœpisse φιλιππίζειν. Nos vero nunc, cum perspicue videamus nihil in Concilio decerni, nisi de voluntate et nutu papæ, cur non dicamus, Conciliorum oracula παπίζειν, id est, tantum dicere, quantum papa velit? Prudenter olim Verres, quem aiunt, quum multis criminibus non obscure teneretur, noluisse existimationem et famam suam committere, nisi hominibus bene fidis de grege, et cohorte sua. Multo autem prudentius pontifices, qui illos sibi judices dari volunt, quos sciunt nec velle, quia rationes habent conjunctas, omnia autem voluptatibus et ventre metiuntur; nec, quia jam jurati sunt, quamvis velint, posse quicquam statuere præter voluntatem suam. Collocant illi quidem in medio sacra Biblia, quæ spectant eminus, non legunt, quasi contra illorum præscriptum nihil facturi. Re autem vera secum ipsi adferunt præjudicatam sententiam: nec attendunt quid Christus dicat, nec statuunt quicquam, nisi quod lubet.

Itaque libertas illa, quam oportuit esse in omnibus consultationibus, maxime vero de rebus sacris, quæque maxime convenit Spiritui Sancto, et modestiæ hominum Christianorum, prorsus jam de medio sublata est [61]. Paulus ait, si

[59] [Apol. Lat. supra, vol. iv. pp. 75, 76, and 92.]

[60] [See the oath in Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy.]

[61] [A similar expression occurs in the Lat. Apol. iv. p. 77. . . . . "Cum "vetus illa et Christiana libertas, "quam æquum erat in Christianis

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alteri assidenti revelatum fuerit, prior taceat [62]: isti vero comprehendi jubent, et in carcerem detrudi, et ignibus mandari, si quis quicquam contra mutiat. Testis adhuc est crudelis interitus duorum sanctissimorum hominum, et fortissimorum virorum, Johannis Hus, et Hieronymi Pragensis; quos illi duos contra fidem publicam interfecerunt, et fidem Deo, hominibusque fefellerunt. Sic impius propheta Zedechias, cum aptasset sibi cornua ferrea, colaphum impegit Micheæ prophetæ Domini: et mene, inquit, reliquit Spiritus Domini, et accessit ad te? Itaque nunc, exclusis omnibus, soli regnant in Conciliis, et soli obtinent suffragia, atque ita scribunt, et promulgant leges, ut olim Ephesii. Nemo (inquiunt illi) hic vivat cæteris prudentior, nisi malit exul atque extorris vivere. Nostrorum enim isti hominum prorsus neminem audire volunt. Ante decem annos in Concilio proximo Tridentino legati principum Germaniæ, et liberarum civitatum, qui ea causa venerant, ut audirentur, ab omni colloquio et conventu excludebantur [63]. Episcopi enim et abbates respondebant, nolle se permittere liberam causæ cognitionem, nec velle controversias disceptari ex verbo Dei: nostrarum autem partium homines nullo modo esse audiendos, nisi si vellent recantare: quod si nollent, non alia lege venturos esse in Concilium, quam ut audirent condemnationem suam. Nam Julius tertius in Brevi illo suo, quo Concilium indixit, publice denunciavit, ut aut mutarent sententiam, aut causa inaudita condemnarentur pro hæreticis [64]. Pius autem papa quartus, is qui nunc instituit [65] Concilium revocare, omnes eos, qui ab ecclesiæ Romanæ autoritate discesserunt, id est, maximam partem orbis Christiani, nec visos unquam, nec auditos, jam antea suo præjudicio pro hæreticis haberi jussit. Omnino, aiunt, idque semper in omni sermone jactare solent, recte habere sua omnia: se nihil, ne tantillum quidem de

" Conciliis esse maximam, prorsus " de Concilio sublata sit....."]

[62] [1 Cor. xiv. 30.]

[63] [Supra, vol. iv. pp. 238, 239. As a specimen, see an account of the treatment of the Wirtembergers, in Sleidan's History of the Reformation, p. 530, A. D. 1551, and p. 540, A. D. 1552.]

[64] [This is the same passage as that quoted supra, vol. iv. p. 238, and which the Editor has been unable to find; nor has he discovered the place in Calvin, who is named there in the margin as having cited it.]

[65] [In the Apol. Lat. (supra iv. 75), published in 1562, " Habuerunt " postea Concilium Tridenti eodem " loco, quo nunc *indicatur*."]

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doctrina et religione sua mutatum velle. Albertus Pighius injussu ecclesiæ Romanæ ait, ne apertissimæ quidem scripturæ credendum esse. Hoc scilicet est ecclesiam in integrum velle restituere? hoc est veritatem velle quærere? hæc illa est libertas Conciliorum, et moderatio?

Et quamvis hæc omnia sint iniquissima, et a ratione veterum Conciliorum, et ab hominum modestorum deliberatione alienissima: illud tamen multo est iniquius, quod cum orbis jam terrarum de pontificis Romani ambitione ac tyrannide conqueratur, et de instauranda ecclesia Dei frustra sudari, et nihil agi judicet, nisi ille in ordinem redigatur: tamen omnia ad illum unum, tanquam ad æquissimum disceptatorem, et judicem deferuntur. At ad quem (O Deus bone!) virum? mitto hostem veritatis, ambitiosum, avarum, superbum, suis etiam jam intolerabilem. Ad illum, inquam, judicium de universa religione deferri volunt, qui omnia sua dictata eodem numero et loco haberi jubet, quo voces ipsius Petri: qui si mille animas abducat secum ad inferos, tamen negat se ea causa posse a quoquam reprehendi[66]: qui ait, se ex injustitia facere posse justitiam: quem Camotensis ait corrupisse scripturas, ut haberet plenitudinem potestatis[67]. Quid plura? quem ipsius contubernales et satellites, Joachimus abbas, Petrarcha, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savanarola non ambigue pronuntiarunt esse Antichristum[68]. Hujus unius judicio ac voluntati omnia subjiciunt, ut idem reus sit, idemque judex: ut accusatores ex inferiori loco audiantur, reus autem sedeat sublimis pro tribunalibus, et ipse de se pronuntiet. Has enim leges tam æquas, tamque rationi consentientes scripsit nobis papa Julius. Nullum, inquit, ratum Concilium est, aut erit unquam, quod Romanæ ecclesiæ non fuerit autoritate fulcitum. Bonifacius octavus[69], Omnem, ait, creaturam oportere subjectam esse ecclesiæ Romanæ, idque de necessitate salutis. Et Paschalis papa, Quasi, inquit, Romanæ ecclesiæ legem Concilia ulla præfixerint, cum omnia Concilia per Romanæ ecclesiæ autoritatem, et facta sint, et robur acceperint, et in eorum statutis

[66] [See vol. iv. p. 90.]

[67] [Camotensis, instead of Carnotensis: Bishop Jewel's usual mistake; see vol. ii. p. 217, note [46].]

[68] [Supra, vol. v. p. 501.]

[69] [Extrav. Comm. de Maj. et Obed.: Unam sanctam. Supra, vol. iv. 217, note [88].]

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Romani pontificis autoritas patenter excipiatur[70]. Et alius quispiam, Quod papa, inquit, approbat vel reprobat, nos approbare vel reprobare debemus: et quod papa approbat, non licet alii improbare. Et nescio quis parasitus[71], amisso pudore, Etiamsi totus mundus sentiet [*al.* sententiaret] in aliquo contra papam, tamen videtur quod standum sit sententiæ papæ[72]. Et alias quispiam[73] non minus impudenter: Sacrilegii, inquit, instar esset, disputare de facto papæ, qui tametsi non sit bonus, tamen semper præsumitur esse bonus. Et alius etiam impudentius, Papa, inquit, habet cœleste arbitrium: ergo in illis quæ vult, est illi pro ratione voluntas[74]: nec est qui dicat illi, cur ita facis[75]? Utque alia complura, quæ huc adduci possunt, sunt enim infinita, relinquam, et finem aliquando faciam; Innocentius papa nonus[76] [*l.* quartus] omnium impudentissime, Neque ab Augusto, inquit, neque a regibus, neque ab universo clero, neque a toto populo judex judicabitur[77]. O Deum immortalem! quantulum abest, ut hoc etiam dicant: Ascendam super aquilonem, et ero similis Altissimo? Si ista vera sunt omnia, et papæ nihil mentiti sunt, quid opus est Concilio? Aut si Concilium sincerum et liberum habere volunt, tollantur ista omnia, ut improba et superba mendacia: nec tantum ex usu et foro, verum etiam ex libris omnibus auferantur, ne summa rerum in unius hominis, ejusque multis justissimis de causis suspecti voluntate, ac libidine relinquantur. Atqui pontifices aiunt, se errare non posse, et ad præscriptum suum exigendum esse verbum Dei: atque etiam antequam adeant ad dignitatem pontificiam, jurantur in fidem recentium quorundam Conciliorum, quibus omnia fœdum in modum sunt depravata, et sancte promittunt se nolle quicquam immutari. Quare quid mirum est, si in

[70] [Paschalis. Extra, De electione et electi potestate: Significasti: col. 106. See also Apol. Lat. iv. 73.]

[71] [9. Qu. 3. Nemo: in glossa.]

[72] [Extra de elect. potest. etc. Significasti: in gloss. Idem Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccl. lib. 6. cap. 13.]

[73] [Dist. 40. Non nos: in glossa. See vol. vi. p. 99.]

[74] [Extra de Transl. Episc. Quanto; in glossa.]

[75] [Extrav. Johann. XXII. de concessione præbendæ: Ad apostolat.: in gloss.]

[76] [Mr. Russell conjectures, that this false print arose from the similarity of IV to IX.]

[77] [Innocentius (*al.* Sylvester) 9. Qu. 3. Nemo. See vol. ii. supra, p. 316. In like manner speaks Petr. de Palude, de potest. papæ, art. 4. supra, vol. vi. p. 99. See also Epist. Nicol. papæ, ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. ii. p. 753.]

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Conciliis nihil proficitur, si errores et abusus non tolluntur, si legati principum frustra tam procul ex omnibus terris convocantur? Tamen audio esse quosdam hoc tempore homines, non malos, sed parum, quid dicant, attendentes: qui quamvis arrogantiam in pontifice, et [78] fastum Persicum, et Epicureum contemptum religionis damnent, tamen ejus autoritatem salvam et incolumem esse velint: et quamvis eum interdum fateantur esse Antichristum, tamen eundem, postquam semel ascendit in illam sedem, non dubitent esse universalem episcopum, et caput universæ ecclesiæ Christi. Atque hic ita triumphant, et sibi placent, ac si Spiritus Sanctus affixus esset ad molem Adriani. At non locus sanctificat hominem, inquiunt, sed homo locum. Et Hieronymus, quemadmodum citatur ab ipsis, Non filii, inquit, sanctorum sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum; sed qui imitantur facta illorum [79]. Alioqui Christus ait, in cathedra Mosis sedisse scribas et Pharisæos: autoritatem autem illorum monet tantisper esse agnoscendam, si respondeant ex verbo Dei. Quid aliud, inquit Augustinus, dixit Christus, nisi Per mercenarios vocem pastoris audire [*l.* audite]? sedendo enim [*supple* Moysi] in cathedra [*l.* cathedram] legem Dei docent; ergo per illos docet Deus. Sua vero si illi docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere [80]. Paulus etiam ait, Antichristum, hominem illum peccati, sessurum esse in loco sancto [81]. Itaque Hieronymus recte monet, Attendis, inquit, Petrum, sed et Judam considera: Stephanum suspicis, sed et Nicolaum respice. Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum. Hæc Hieronymus. Et certe aiunt Marcellinum papam sacrificasse idolis [83], Liberium papam fuisse Arianum [84]: Joannem papam XXII. [85] impie sensisse de immortalitate animarum: Joannem papam octavum fuisse fœminam, et in papatu incesta libidine cum adulteris concubuisse, et in lustranda civitate, in ipsa pompa, atque in

[78] [See the same expression *supra*, vol. iv. p. 52. l. 4.]

[79] [S. Hieron. as quoted by Gratian, Dist. 40. Non est facile. *Supra*, vol. ii. p. 244.]

[80] [S. Aug. in Johann. tract. 46. tom. iii. pt. 2. 604. F.]

[81] [2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.]

[83] [Concill. Crabb. tom. i. p. 184.]

[84] [S. Hieron. in libr. de Eccl. Scriptoribus in vita Fortunatiani, tom. iv. pt. 2. p. 124.]

[85] [This pope is more correctly numbered John XXIII. See the Editor's note [6], *supra*, vol. vi. p. 255, and note [22], p. 269.]

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oculis episcoporum et cardinalium, peperisse [86]: et Lyranus [87] ait, multos pontifices Romanos a fide Christi defecisse. Quare non nimium fidendum erat locis et successionibus, et inanibus titulis dignitatum. Impius Nero successit Metello pio [88]. Annas et Caiaphas successerunt Aaroni: et idolum sæpe successit in locum Dei.

Sed quænam, obsecro, est illa tanta vis et autoritas, de qua isti ita insolenter gloriantur? aut unde ad eos delata est? de cœlo, an ex hominibus? Christus, inquiunt, ait Petro, Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam: his verbis autoritatem pontificiam confirmari: ecclesiam enim Christi in Petro, tanquam in fundamento collocari. Atqui Christus his verbis nihil Petro dedit seorsim a cæteris apostolis. Neque aut pontificis mentionem ullam facit, aut urbis Romæ. Christus illa est petra, Christus est illud fundamentum. Nemo, inquit Paulus, potest aliud fundamentum ponere, quam quod jam antea positum est, quod est Christus Jesus [89].

Et Augustinus, Super hanc petram, inquit, ædificabo ecclesiam meam: super hanc, inquit, intelligitur, quam confessus est Petrus, dicens, Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi. Non enim, inquit, dictum est, Tu es petra, sed tu es Petrus; petra autem erat Christus. Et divus Basilius, super hanc petram, Hoc est, inquit, super hanc fidem ædificabo ecclesiam meam [90]. Et antiquissimus pater Origenes [91], Petra, inquit, est quisque discipulus Christi, ex quo biberunt de spirituali consequente Petra: et super talem petram construitur omnis ecclesiastica doctrina. Quod si super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas ædificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Joanne filio tonitrui, et apostolorum uno quoque? Alioqui enim audebimus dicere, quod adversus unum Petrum non prævalituræ sint portæ inferorum, adversus cæteros apostolos ac præfectos sint prævalituræ? Ac non potius in omnibus et singulis eorum, de quibus dictum est, sit illud, quod dictum

[86] [See the question of pope Joan discussed, supra, vol. v. pp. 349—363.]

[87] [Lyranus in Matt. cap. 16. tom. v. p. 280. See also supra, vol. iv. p. 73, and vol. vi. p. 258.]

[88] [In both these examples the author has purposely chosen a remote predecessor.]

[89] [1 Cor. iii. 11.]

[90] [S. Basil. tract. 1. in Matt.]

[91] [Origen in Matt. tract. 1. tom. iii. p. 524.]

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est, Et portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adversus eam: et illud, Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam! An vero soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cœlorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Quod si hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, cæteris quoque commune est, cur non simul omnia et quæ prius dicta sunt, et quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnia communia [92]? Una, inquit Hilarius, est felix fidei petra, quam ore suo Petrus confessus est [93]. Et rursus, Super hanc, inquit, confessionem Petri ædificata est ecclesia [94]. Et non ita multo post, Hæc, inquit fides ecclesiæ fundamentum est. Ad hunc modum alii etiam patres [95], Hieronymus, Cyrillus, Beda, ecclesiam exædificatam aiunt, non in Petro, sed in fide Petri, hoc est, in Christo Jesu Filio Dei, quem Petrus cœlesti instinctu professus fuerat. Petrus, inquit Augustinus, a petra dictus est; non petra a Petro.....Nec ego me, inquit, ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me [96]. Imo etiam Nicolaus Lyranus, etsi non semper bonus author, scis enim in quæ tempora inciderit ejus ætas, tamen hoc recte vidit, Super hanc, inquit, petram, id est, super Christum. Ex quo non potest ecclesia constare in aliquo homine, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ, quia multi.....papæ inventi sunt apostatæ [97] [*l.* apostatasse de fide].

Qua ergo in re sita est ista autoritas pontificia? In docendo? at nihil docent. In ministrando sacramenta? at non ministrant. In pascendo? at nihil pascunt. Atqui hæc est illa potestas, quam Christus contulit in apostolos. Ite, inquit, in universum mundum, et prædicate evangelium [98]: et, Posthac eritis piscatores hominum [99]: et, Sicut me misit (vivens) Pater, ita ego mitto vos. Isti vero, quo eunt? quid docent? quid prædicant? quid piscantur? unde eunt? a quo mittuntur? Non est ista autoritas apostolica, sed superba et intole-

[92] [See vol. ii. p. 135, note 77.]
[93] [S. Hilar. de Trin. lib. 2. p. 800.]
[94] [Ibid. lib. 6. p. 903. "Super "hanc igitur confessionis petram "ecclesiæ ædificatio est."]
[95] [See some of these alleged supra, vol. ii. p. 133. Mr. Palmer, in his Treatise on the Church, (vol. ii. p. 484.) has enumerated no less than 36 old authorities for this interpretation.]
[96] [S. Augustin. de Verb. Dom. sec. Matth. serm. 13. tom. v. 415. The page referred to was erroneously printed 405, supra, vol. ii. p. 134.]
[97] [Lyran. in S. Matt. cap. 16. tom. v. 280. Supra, vol. iv. p. 73, and vi. 258.]
[98] [S. Mark xvi. 15.]
[99] [S. Matt. iv. 19.]

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rabilis dominatio, per vim et tyrannidem usurpata. Nemo nostrum, inquit Cyprianus [1], episcopum se episcoporum dicit, aut tyrannico terrore collegas ad obsequendi necessitatem compellit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab altero non possit, quum nec ipse possit alterum judicare. Et hoc, inquit, erant utique cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris, et potestatis [2]. Et divus Hieronymus: Major, inquit, est autoritas orbis quam urbis, ...Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium, in leges ecclesiæ vendicas?.....Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii,.....ejusdem est meriti, et ejusdem sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas superiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit [3]. Et Gregorius, Petrus, inquit, præcipuum [Bened. primus] in corpore membrum; Joannes, Andreas, Jacobus [*l.* Paulus], particularium plebium capita; omnes tamen sub uno capite membra (ecclesiæ sunt).....Imo sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti in [*l.* sub] gratia, et omnes perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt constituti, et nemo se unquam universalem dici voluit [4].

Hæc illa est potestas, quam hodie quidam ita strenue defendunt, et quicquid de pontificis vel vita, vel religione sentiant, tamen illam sacrosanctam et integram esse volunt, quasi sine ea ecclesia Dei incolumis esse non possit: aut nisi papa velit et jubeat, Concilium non sit Concilium; et si totus mundus contra sentiat, nihil sentiat. Quare cum videas hæc omnia iniquissime esse comparata, nihil hodie in Conciliis sincere et vere fieri, mirari non debes, si nostri homines domi manere malint, quam tam procul frustra proficisci, ubi et operam lusuri sint, et causam perdituri.

Sed injussu pontificis, inquies, et Concilii, nefas erat in religione voluisse quicquam immutare. Imo vero, pontifices ipsi universum prope statum primitivæ ecclesiæ sine ullo

[1] [S. Cyprian. in Concil. Carth. Mansi, i. 973, 974.]

[2] [S. Cyprian. de simpl. præl. p. 195.]

[3] [The order of these sentences is inverted. Hieron. in Evagr. Opp. tom. iv. pt. 2. p. 803. See also vol. iii. supra, p. 381.]

[4] [S. Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 38. tom. ii. 743. See the passage quoted more correctly supra, vol. ii. p. 312, and note [16].]

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Concilio mutaverunt. Est quidem ista speciosa et pulchra oratio, sed erroribus fœdissimis prætexitur. Morari enim tantum volunt expectatione animos hominum; ut mora ac tædio hebescere incipiant, et ad extremum spem abjiciant. Quid enim? an dum papa convocet Concilium, et abbates atque episcopi domum redeant, volunt interea populum Dei falli, errare, decipi, circumfundi erroribus et ignoratione Dei, et abduci ad interitum sempiternum? Non licet cuiquam nostrum credere in Christum, profiteri evangelium, rite et vere Deum colere, fugere superstitiones et cultus idolorum, nisi isti velint? Miserabilis vero esset status ecclesiæ Dei, si in tot erroribus tam late diffusis, tam crassis, tam cæcis, tam fœdis, tam perspicuis, et manifestis, ut eos ne adversarii quidem nostri negare queant, nihil possit effici sine concursu orbis terrarum, et Concilio generali, ejus præsertim, cujus et expectatio incerta sit, et exitus multo incertior. Quum Persæ olim in Græciam irrupissent, et cœpissent omnia populari, et Lacedæmonii, quorum virtus inter omnes tum Græcos eminebat, quosque oportuit primo quoque tempore procurrere, ad rem gerendam lunam opportuniorem expectarent (erat enim ea illis jam inde a Lycurgo avita superstitio, ne proficiscerentur ad pugnam, nisi in plenilunio), patria interea, dum illi cunctabantur, diripi, et incendi potuisset. Periculum, inquiunt, est in mora. Agitur salus ecclesiæ Dei, diabolus rugit ut leo, et circuit, et quærit quem devoret: homines simplices facile trahuntur in fraudem, et quamvis sæpe tanguntur zelo Dei, tamen imprudentes persequuntur Filium Dei: utque Nazianzenus ait, Quum putent se pugnare pro Christo, pugnant sæpe contra Christum. Episcopi autem, quibus oportuit ista esse curæ, aut, ut inanes larvæ, omnia susque deque ferunt; aut, ut quod res est dicam, augent etiam errorem, et conduplicant caliginem. An ergo nos oportuit sedere otiosos, et hujusmodi patrum cognitionem expectare, et manus comprimere, et nihil agere? Imo, inquit Cyprianus, unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur, et certe pro sua cuique parte Domino reddenda est ratio[5]. Sanguinem illorum, inquit Dominus, de manu tua requiram. Quod si quis admoveat manum ad stivam, et respiciat a tergo, et sollicitus sit, quid alii sentiant,

[5] [S. Cypr. p. 108.]

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et expectet autoritatem Concilii generalis, et interea recondat thesaurum Domini sui, audiet: Serve male, et perfide: tollite illum, et abjicite in tenebras exteriores. Sinite, inquit Christus, mortuos sepelire mortuos suos: tu veni et sequere me. Veritas Dei non pendet ab hominibus. In humanis quidem Conciliis prudentis est expectare judicium et consensum hominum: in rebus autem divinis vox Dei debet instar esse omnium: quam postquam mens pia semel accepit, statim cedit, et manus dat, non tergiversatur, aut expectat alios. Intelligit enim se non pontificis, aut Concilii arbitrio oportere credere, sed voluntati Dei; ejus autem voci obtemperandum esse, invitis omnibus. Propheta Elias Domino jubenti statim obsequutus est, etsi se credebat esse solum. Abrahamus monitu Dei migravit e Chaldea. Lot egressus est e Sodomis. Tres illi Israelitæ publice ediderunt confessionem religionis suæ, et publice detestati sunt idololatriam; nihil expectato generali Concilio. Exite, inquit Angelus, de medio ejus, et ne sitis participes peccatorum ejus: neve accipiatis de plagis ejus: non dicit, Expectate synodum episcoporum. Sic primum publicata est veritas Dei, sic eadem nunc restituenda est. Sine publico Concilio apostoli primum docuerunt evangelium. Sine publico Concilio idem potest postliminio revocari. Quod si Christus ipse ab initio, aut ejus apostoli cunctari voluissent, et rem omnem ad futurum Concilium rejecissent, quando tandem exivisset sonus illorum in omnem terram? quomodo vim pertulisset regnum cœlorum, aut violenti in illud invasissent? ubi nunc esset evangelium? ubi nunc esset ecclesia Dei? Nos quidem non formidamus, aut fugimus, imo multo potius optamus et cupimus Concilium [6]: modo liberum, modo ingenuum, modo Christianum, modo ad apostolorum exemplar conveniatur, modo abbates et episcopi a religione jurisjurandi, quo nunc Romanis pontificibus obstricti sunt, eximantur; modo universa illa conjuratio dissolvatur; modo nostrarum partium homines modeste, ac libere audiantur; modo ne inauditi condemnentur; modo ne quicquid agatur, unus quispiam infirmare et rescindere possit omnia. At cum id his moribus et temporibus impetrari non posse, et omnia absurda, inepta, ridicula, superstitiosa, impia, tantum quod semel recepta

[6] [See a similar passage in Apol. Lat. supra, vol. iv. p. 71.]

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essent, consuetudinis causa pugnacissime defendi videremus, proprium esse judicavimus, ut municipali Concilio ecclesiis nostris prospiceremus [7].

Scimus enim Spiritum Dei nec locis alligatum esse, nec numeris hominum. Dic, inquit Christus, ecclesiæ [8]: non sane universæ, quæ diffunditur in totum terrarum orbem, sed particulari, quæ possit una aliquem in locum convenire. Ubicunque, inquit, erunt duo aut tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum ego in medio illorum [9]. Sic Paulus, ut instauraret ecclesias Corinthiorum et Galatarum, non jussit expectare generale Concilium: ad ipsos scripsit, ut quicquid esset erroris aut vitii, id ipsi statim resecarent. Sic olim, cum episcopi dormirent, atque aliud agerent, aut etiam contaminarent et polluerent templum Dei, semper Deus extraordinaria ratione alios quosdam excitavit, magno viros spiritu, atque animo, qui omnia in integrum restituerent.

Nos vero nihil temere, nihil nisi summa cum ratione fecimus [10], nihil nisi quod videbamus et semper licuisse fieri, et a sanctis patribus sæpe sine ulla reprehensione fuisse factum. Itaque convocatis episcopis frequenti synodo, communi consensu omnium ordinum, ecclesiæ sordes, quas vel incuria hominum, vel malitia infuderat, tanquam Augeæ stabulum repurgavimus, et quantum assequi maxime potuimus, omnia ad pristinum nitorem, ad apostolicorum temporum, et primitivæ ecclesiæ similitudinem revocavimus [11]. Idque et potuimus recte facere, et quia potuimus fidenter fecimus.

[7] [So Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 85: "Illud potius fecimus, quod et recte "posset fieri, et a piis hominibus, "et catholicis episcopis sæpe multis "factum esset: ut provinciali syn- "odo *nostris ecclesiis prospicere-* "*mus.*" See also vol. iv. p. 92, where the same line of argument is pursued.]

[8] [St. Matth. xviii. 17.]

[9] [St. Matth. xviii. 20.]

[10] [See Apol. Lat. vol. iv. p. 71: "Neque ea quæ fecimus, prorsus "sine episcopis aut sine concilio "fecimus. Plenis comitiis res acta "est, longa deliberatione, frequenti "synodo." The synod alluded to may possibly be the synod, or quasi synod, which sanctioned the forty-two articles of 1553; it can hardly be that which met in convocation, Jan. 12, 1563, (see Cardwell's Synodalia, vol. i. p. 35.) and which passed the Thirty-nine Articles (recast from the forty-two); unless we assign the date of 1563, before March 25, for the publication of the Apology, as well as for the letter to Scipio. The date of the Apology will be considered in the Preface.]

[11] [This, one of the great principles of the English reformation, is again and again asserted by bishop Jewel throughout his writings; and it is this, in subordination to the supreme authority of holy scripture, which

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Libet hic audire, quid Gregorius papa primus hac de re scripserit, quanquam magis libet, quod ille de Anglicarum ecclesiarum institutione ad Anglorum episcopum Augustinum ea scripserit. Hortatur autem, non ut ad Concilium referat, sed ut ipse pro sua prudentia id instituat, quo videat pietatem maxime posse promoveri. Novit, inquit [12], fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit esse nutritum [*l.* enutritam]. Sed mihi placet, ut sive in Romana, sive Gallicorum [*al.* Galliarum], sive qualibet eeclesia invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, eligas sollicite, et in Anglorum ecclesiam, quæ adhuc in fide nova est, et in constitutione [13], præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere poteris [*l.* potuisti], infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro rebus loca amanda sunt.

Ad eundem modum scribunt patres in Concilio Constantinopolitano ad Damasum episcopum urbis Romæ, et reliquos episcopos Occidentis. De cura, inquiunt, administrationis singularum ecclesiarum scitis veterem sanctionem et definitionem Nicænorum patrum semper invaluisse, ut in unaquaque provincia cultores, assumptis etiam, si videatur, finitimis, conferant ecclesiasticos honores iis, quos utiliter gesturos esse confidunt [14]. Et Africani episcopi ad Cælestinum Romanum: Presbyterorum, inquiunt, et sequentium clericorum improba refugia, sicut te dignum est, repellat sanctitas tua: quia et nulla patrum definitione hoc ecclesiæ denegatum [*al.* derogatum] est Africanæ: et decreta Nicæna, sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt. Prudentissime enim justissimeque [*suppl.* providerunt] quæque negotia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, (esse) finienda: nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam Sancti Spiritus defuturam. Quæ æquitas a Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur, et constanter retineatur [15].

constitutes the impregnable strength of his position as against the Romanists. So in the Apol. supra, vol. iv. p. 92: "…. nos …. ex sacris "libris, quos scimus non posse fal- "lere, certam quandam religionis "formam quæsivisse, et ad veterum "patrum atque apostolorum primi- "tivam ecclesiam, hoc est ad pri- "mordia atque initia, tanquam ad "fontes rediisse."]

[12] [S. Gregor. ad Augustin. de variis dubiis. Tom. ii. p. 1152.]

[13] [For the words "et in consti- "tutione," the Bened. read only the word "institutione."]

[14] [See the synodal epistle to Damasus in Mansi, A. D. 381.]

[15] [See Cod. Eccl. Afric. apud Bruns, tom. i. p. 201.]

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Multo vero melius, et ad hanc rem, de qua nunc agimus, accommodatius Eleutherius episcopus Romanus ad Lucium regem Britanniæ: Petiistis, inquit, a nobis leges Romanas, et Cæsaris vobis transmitti, quibus in regno Britanniæ uti voluistis. Leges Romanas, et Cæsaris semper possumus reprobare: legem Dei nequaquam. Suscepistis enim miseratione divina in regno Britanniæ legem et fidem Christi: habetis penes vos in regno vestro utramque paginam. Ex illis Dei gratia per concilium regni vestri sume legem, et per illam Dei patientia poteritis vestrum Britanniæ regnum instituere. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno illo, juxta Psalmistam: Domini est terra [16].

Quid multis? Victor episcopus Romanus habuit Romæ synodum provincialem. Justinianus imperator mandat, si quid opus sit, in singulis provinciis habere synodos: id ni fiat, se fore ultorem et vindicem. Unaquæque, inquit Hieronymus, provincia habet mores, et ritus, et sensus suos, quos sine gravi perturbatione movere facile non possis.

[17] Nam quid ego commemorem vetera Concilia municipalia, Eliberinum, Gangrense, Laodicenum, Ancyranum, Antiochenum, Turonense, Carthaginense, Milevitanum, Toletanum, Burdegalense; non enim est ista nova ratio. Sic olim regebatur ecclesia Dei, antequam patres ad Nicænum Concilium convenissent. Non enim statim decurrebatur ad Concilium generale. Theophilus habuit conventum provincialem in Palæstina: Palmas in Ponto: Irenæus in Gallia: Bachylus in Achaia: Origenes contra Beryllum in Arabia. Mitto alia Concilia municipalia quamplura, quæ habita fuerunt in Africa, Asia, Græcia, Ægypto, pia, orthodoxa, Christiana, injussu pontificis Romani. Episcopi enim tum pro re nata, ut quidque incidisset, statim domestico Concilio succurrebant ecclesiis suis, et modo vicinorum episcoporum fidem implorabant, modo operas mutuas tradebant, et, si quid opus esset, sese vicissim ultro juvabant. Nec tantum episcopi, sed principes etiam judicabant religionis causam ad suum officium

[16] [It should be remembered that this Epistle is not genuine.]

[17] [In the Apol. Lat. iv. 85. is a similar description of such provincial councils: it seems unnecessary to give particular references to the councils enumerated in the text. They will be found in Mr. Russel's translation.]

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pertinere. Nam, ut mittam Nabuchadnezarem, qui capitale sancivit, si quis blasphemasset Deum Israel: aut Davidem, Solomonem, Ezechiam, Josiam, qui partim exædificarunt, partim repurgarunt templum Dei [18]: Constantinus imperator sine Concilio sustulit cultum idolorum, et gravissimis verbis edixit, capitale fore, si quis idolo sacrificasset. Theodosius imperator solo æquari jussit templa deorum. Jovinianus imperator, statim ubi esset renunciatus, tulit primam legem de reducendis exulibus Christianis. Justinianus imperator dicere solebat religionem Christi non minus sibi esse curæ, quam vitam suam. Josua, quum factus esset dux populi, statim accepit præcepta de religione, et de colendo Deo. Sunt enim principes nutritii ecclesiæ, et custodes utriusque tabulæ. Nec alia magis causa Deus semper voluit politias existere, quam ut essent, qui religionem et pietatem incolumem conservarent.

Quo magis hodie graviusque peccant multi principes, qui appellantur quidem Christiani, qui sedent otiosi, et indulgent voluptatibus, et patienter ferunt impios cultus et contemptum Numinis, et hæc omnia devolvunt ad episcopos, ad illos ipsos quibus sciunt omnem religionem esse ludibrio: quasi cura ecclesiarum et populi Dei ad ipsos nihil pertineat, aut ipsi tanquam pastores quidem sint armentarii, et corporum tantum, ac non etiam animarum curam gerant. Non meminerunt se servos esse Dei, ea causa delectos, ut serviant Domino. Ezechias rex non prius ascendit in domum suam, quam vidisset perpurgatum templum Dei. Et David rex, Non dabo, inquit, somnum oculis meis, nec patiar ut conniveant palpebræ meæ, donec inveniam locum Domino, et tabernaculum Deo Jacob. O si principes Christiani audire vellent vocem Domini sui. Nunc reges intelligite, inquit Dominus, erudimini, qui judicatis terram. Ego, inquit, dixi, dii estis, hoc est, homines divinitus electi, quibus nomen meum esset curæ. Cogita tu, quem ego de sterquilinio excitavi, et in summo dignitatis et honoris gradu collocavi, et præfeci populo meo, cum ita studiose ædifices et ornes domum tuam, quo animo potes contemnere domum meam? aut quomodo quotidie oras, ut regnum tuum tibi, posterisque tuis confirmetur? An ut nomen meum semper afficiatur contu-

[18] [See these examples cited in like manner in Apol. Lat. iv. 79.]

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melia! ut evangelium Christi mei extinguatur? ut servi mei mea causa, ante oculos tuos, te inspectante, trucidentur? ut tyrannis longius grassetur? ut populo meo semper imponatur? ut per te scandalum confirmetur? Væ illi per quem venit scandalum; væ etiam illi, per quem confirmatur scandalum. Horres sanguinem corporum; quanto magis horrere debes sanguinem animarum? Memineris quid acciderit Antiocho, Herodi, Juliano: Ego regnum tuum transferam ad hostem tuum, quia peccasti adversum me: ego muto tempora et vices temporum: abjicio reges et instituo, ut intelligas me Altissimum esse, et vim habere in regno hominum, et illud dare cui volo: ego humilio, et ego exalto, ego glorificantes me glorifico, et eos qui me contemnunt, afficio contumelia.

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I.[16]

Juellus Parkhursto[17].

[Strype's Annals, vol. II. part ii. p. 453.]

Parkhurste mi, mi Parkhurste! Quid ego te nunc putem agere? Morine an vivere? In fletune esse, an in Fleto[18]? Certe quæ tua semper fuit æquitas animi, nihil dubito te hæc omnia, quæcunque sunt, boni consulere, &c. Nova apud nos nulla sunt: plus enim satis est veterum. De Harleio[19] quid factum sit, quo in loco tuæ res sunt, quid speres, quid timeas, nisi molestum est, quæso, rescribe. Saluta Urianum, Robinum, Hallingum, et omnes tuos. Vale.

Oxon. 15. Octobr. [1554.] Jo. Juel tuus.

II.

Juellus Parkhursto.

[Strype's Annals, vol. II. part ii. 453, 454.]

Quid ego nunc ad te, Parkhurste, scribam, vel quid potius taceam? Quid agas, quid egeris, quo loco sis, jamdudum

[16] [The following letters are printed as nearly as may be in their chronological order. The sources whence they are derived will be duly indicated. Those marked Zur. Coll. were obtained by the Editor from the collection of letters by English writers preserved at Zurich and elsewhere, a catalogue of which had been furnished to the Delegates of the University Press by the late Rev. Solomon Hess. About the same time that the copies reached the Editor, the letters both of bishop Jewel and of the other exiles, &c. were transcribed for the Parker society, which published in 1842 an edition of all the letters, and a second collection in 1846, with some valuable illustrative notes.

The Editor observes with pleasure, that, so far as Jewel's letters are concerned, no material difference exists between the two transcripts. With respect to the few notes which he has thought it necessary to add, he considers it due to the learned Editor of the Parker edition, as well as to himself, to state, that, as he has had recourse generally to the same authorities, particularly Strype, he has in many cases produced nearly the same results.]

[17] [This and the following fragment of letters to Parkhurst, (who had been Jewel's tutor, who was, soon after the accession of Mary, deprived of his rectory of Bishop's Cleve, and who after his return from exile became bishop of Norwich,) were possibly amongst the five letters which are mentioned by Tanner as being preserved in MS. at Norwich, but which a friend has not succeeded in discovering.]

[18] [The Fleet prison. Parkhurst was now in hiding, previously to his escape from the approaching Marian persecution.]

[19] [This was John Harley, bishop of Hereford, whom Strype describes (Mem. II. ii. 171.) as lurking up and down the country during Mary's reign.]

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audire cupio. Etsi Clæva tibi erepta est, et alia mutata sunt omnia, animum tamen illum tibi tuum nec eripi, nec mutari posse spero, &c. Saluta meo nomine Urianum.

Octobr. 22. Oxon. [1554.]

III.

Juellus ad Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. III. ii. p. 350, No. 44.]

De prima illa nostra profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. nostrum Simlerum. Quinto post die[20] vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantisper[21] miseri coacti sumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes, et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique nostri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audimus[22]. Neque id sane mirum; profecti enim Argentina ad vicesimum primum Decembris vix vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antuerpiam, quod Rhenus constrictus glacie illorum navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, reditum illorum reginæ esse gratissimum, idque illam non obscure præ se ferre.

Si episcopi pergant porro, ut cœperunt, erit brevi magna vilitas episcopatuum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum[23], rabulam illum Ciccstrensem, esse mortuum; quod idem de Vatsono quoque Lincolniensi nunciatur: quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus[24] in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi, cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad populum insanam et turbulentissimam concionem: omnia potius tentanda esse, quam ut quicquam de religione immutaretur: bonum factum, si quis exules re-

[20] [Burnet and the edition of the Parker Society, "postridie."]

[21] [Parker ed. "tantopere."]

[22] [Parker ed. and Burnet, "audivimus."]

[23] [He had been one of the commissioners for burning the bodies of Bucer and Fagius. See the Parker ed. p. 4, note [2].]

[24] [See vol. iii. p. 128: "And M. Joh. White, late schoolmaster, (warden,) and after bishop of Winton, writeth thus against that most reverend learned father D. Peter Martyr." He then quotes a passage from White's Diacosio-Martyrion de Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, &c. (published 1553.) For an account of this funeral sermon, and of bishop White's imprisonment, see Strype, Mem. III. ii. pp. 140, 536. See also Pitseus de Scr. Angl. cent. (quoted by Fuller.)]

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duces interficeret. Accusatus est seditionis a Marchione Vintoniensi thesaurario, et Hetho archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis jussus est reddere hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad causæ dictionem; interim jubetur se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat concionem ad populum, neve papista, neve minister evangelii. Id alii factum putant, quod, cum unus tantum esset minister verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus esset numerus papistarum; alii, quod audita una tantum Benthami publica concione populus inter se cœperit litigare de cæremoniis; et alii Genevenses esse vellent, alii Francofordiani. Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri homines nimium prudenter et politice versari velint in causa Dei. Multi putant D. Coquum fore magnum cancellarium, hominem bonum quidem et pium, uti nosti, sed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de ista præclara pace, si Deo placet, transigatur; quæ qualis aut quam firma et diuturna futura sit, *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται*. D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in Angliam. Video enim alios quoque nostros homines de ea re serio cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad reginam; erat scripturus ad totum parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ fidei committeretur. Ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi octo[24] coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut sarcinam et pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamque vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime pater, et plus quam animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliqua scribere: cui ego viro pro summa ejus erga me humanitate debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus[25], D. Parkhurstus

[24] ["Octo" omitted in Park. ed. and in Burnet.]

[25] [Springham and Abel (as well as Eaton or Heton, though he generally lived in Germany) were London merchants, who were very liberal in supplying the necessities of the exiles, and were the chief channels through which the bounty of others flowed. Fuller, in naming

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te plurimum salutant, et cum tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quam Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti et D. Accontius[26] sunt nunc Argentinæ. Uterque te plurimum salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi litteras D. Isabellæ; id obsecro, ut illi significes.

Argentinæ, 26.
Januar.

JOHANNES JUELLUS,
ex animo, et semper, tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, in ecclesia Tigurina professori S. theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.

IV.

Juellus Petro Martyri.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. III. ii. p. 355, No. 47.]

S. P. Tandem tamen aliquando, quinquagesimo, videlicet, septimo post die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, pervenimus in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa *προοιμιάζειν*, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos illos logos non magni facias? Interea vero Deum immortalem, quæ illa vita fuit, cum et aqua, et terra, et cœlum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibus modis reditum nostrum impediret! Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima et adversissima ceciderunt. Verum hæc antea ad te, et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cum adhuc hærerem Antuerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quamquam hic, ut vere dicam, arte opus est et myrotheciis, non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda et polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore: scio tamen a te plurima exspectari, quam quod recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim fere omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea

them, remarks, "Merchants have long arms, and by their bills of exchange reach all the world over." Fuller, Church History, book viii. 1557. These merchants also appear to have facilitated the subsequent correspondence between bp. Jewel and his foreign friends.]

[26] [Acontius is mentioned by Strype as a minister of the Dutch

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scripsi ex itinere, multo tum erant alia, et longe auditu jucundiora, quam quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus pontifex; nondum pars ulla religionis restituta; eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies; eadem pompa atque insolentia episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem nutare incipiunt et pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento sunt aposcopi[27], qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori conclavi inter primores, et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum hominum, qui illorum fucos et mendacia possit coram dicendo refutare, inter homines literarum et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel numero vel opinione doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi aperte faveat nostræ causæ, tamen partim a suis, quorum consilio omnia (ag)geruntur, partim a legato Philippi, comite Ferio[28], homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari, mirifice deterretur. Illa tamen, quamvis lentius aliquanto, quam nos velimus, tamen et prudenter, et fortiter, et pie persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus principia paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes est, aliquando recte fore. Interea ne aposcopi nostri queri possint, se potentia tantum et legibus esse victos, res revocata est ad disputationem, ut novem[29] ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Whitedus, Sandus, Grendallus, Hornus, Elmerus, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, et ego, cum quinque episcopis, abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est: in publicis precibus et administratione sacramentorum alia uti lingua quam quæ a populo intelligatur, alienum esse et a verbo Dei, et a consuetudine primitivæ ecclesiæ. Altera est: quamvis ecclesiam provincialem, etiam injussu generalis concilii, posse vel insti-

church in London. He was subsequently accused of Arianism. Strype's Grindal, p. 62.]

[27] [This is the reading, both here and a few lines further on, in the copy which has reached the Editor; an evident play upon the word, meaning of course the Romish bishops, as being out of place. The Parker edit. and Burnet read "episcopi." Nine bishops adhered to the church of Rome. Strype's Annals, I. i. 81.]

[28] [In Burnet, Oxf. ed. 1829, the reading is Terio; the person alluded to was the duke of Feria: Strype, Ann. I. ii. p. 53.]

[29] [The editor of the Zurich letters for the Parker society has shewn, that only eight disputants on each side actually appeared. See this conference alluded to supra, vol. i. p. 43, note [6], and p. 55, note.]

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tuere, vel mutare, vel abrogare cæremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos, sicubi id videatur facere ad ædificationem. Tertia: sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod papistæ fingunt esse in missa, non posse probari ex sacris literis. Pridie calend. April. instituetur prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi parta victoria, jamdudum magnifice triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus[30] ad nos venerit, scribam de his rebus omnia dissertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum tertioque cupidissime relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito multo fore gratiorem.

Oxonii a tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, et contumacia; religio, et spes omnis literarum atque ingeniorum funditus periit. Brochus[31], episcopus Glocestrensis, bestia impurissimæ vitæ, et multo impurioris conscientiæ, paullo antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber[32] tuus præclarus, scilicet, patronus castitatis, deprehensus est in adulterio: et ea causa, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cum Maria adhuc viveret, novo more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere lectione theologica. Bruernus[33] simili, sed longe flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere professionem linguæ Hebraicæ. De[34] Martiali nihil scribo, ne chartas contaminem. De Westono[35] audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, commemoras? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit D. Cranmerum, D. Ridlæum, D. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de pace, de bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi literas ex itinere: quæ utrum ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longe absumus, longius, O Deum immortalem, et

[30] [Christopher Froschover, a printer of Zurich, in whose house twelve of the English exiles had been boarded. Strype's Memor. III. i. 232. et ap. Humf. Vit. Juelli, p. 89.]

[31] [Brooks or Brokes was special "judge and commissary from the pope" at Cranmer's trial. See Dr. Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 80. See also Wood, Athenæ, vol. i. p. 314. ed. Bliss.]

[32] [Richard Smith, principal of Alban hall, regius professor of divinity at Oxford in 1535, twice displaced, once to make room for Peter Martyr, in 1547, and twice restored, was the author of a book on the celibacy of priests, against Peter Martyr. See Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 335.]

[33] [Richard Bruerne, fellow of Lincoln, provost of Eton, regius professor of Hebrew, 1541. See Strype.]

[34] [See an account of Marshall, dean of Ch. Ch., 1553—1559, in Humphrey's Life of Jewel, and in Strype's Annals, I. ii. 48.]

[35] [Weston, deprived by cardinal Pole of the deanery of Windsor for adultery: Strype, Mem. III. i. 174. His character may be judged of by his indecent behaviour as prolocutor at the disputation with Cranmer.]

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diutius multo, quam vellem, literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ committendæ sunt. Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum et convictores tuos Trevirenses. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini xx. Martii 1559.

JOANNES JUELLUS, tuus.

Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, Professori S. Theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

V.

Juellus Petro Martyri.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, III. ii. p. 360, No. 49.]

S. P. De illis disputationibus inter nos et episcopos, quas proximis literis scripsi indictas fuisse in ante calendas April. quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare orationem sine procemio. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur: proximo autem conventu, ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridie ergo calend. April. cum magna exspectatione, majori, credo, frequentia convenissemus Westmonasterii, episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas: cum tamen habuissent plus minus decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares, Oxonio, et Cantabrigia, et undique ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen ne tot viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæstione, hoc est, de peregrina lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille vero cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis

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indignissime accepisset, et omnium seditionum autores et faces appellasset, et supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modo dejectione modo sublatione superciliorum, (nosti enim hominis vultum et modestiam) sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremo evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos annos recepisse evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, preces tum publicas in Anglia habitas fuisse Anglice? Postea cum in illo circulo sese satis jam diu jactavisset, adjecit serio et vero vultu, atque etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent: Apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alii Orientis ecclesias instituerent, alii Occidentis. Itaque Petrum et Paulum in Romana ecclesia, quæ totam prope Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, Latine docuisse. Reliquos apostolos in Oriente nullo unquam alio sermone usos fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides. Atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solennius et magistratius insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamasset: *Poz! horson knave.* Verum ille inter alia nihil veritus est, mysteria ipsa, et penetralia, atque adyta prodere religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit, graviter et serio monere, etiamsi alia omnia maxime convenirent, tamen non expedire, ut populus, quid in sacris agatur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, mater est veræ pietatis[34], quam ille appellavit devotionem. O mystica sacra atque opertanea Bonæ Deæ! Quid tu me interim putas de Cotta Pontifice cogitasse? Hoc videlicet illud est: in spiritu et veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo, magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset, nos postremo nostra pronuntiavimus de scripto, ita modeste, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adversarium. Postremo ita dimissa est disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo conventu, ne comes quidem Salopiensis, quin victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis[35].

[34] [Supra, vol. iii. p. 485, and vol. i. p. 93.]

[35] [In the State Paper Office, March 30, 1559, is the original official account of this conference, and its issue, together with the sentence against the popish bishops, as Jewel reports it. This document is signed by *Shrewsbury*, Pembroke, Cecil, &c.]

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Postea inita est ratio, ut proximo die Lunæ de secunda quæstione eodem modo diceremus, atque die Mercurii nos illorum primi diei argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die Lunæ cum frequens multitudo ex omni nobilitate cupidissima audiendi convenisset, episcopi, nescio, pudorene superioris diei, an desperatione victoriæ, primum tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est a senatu, si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse. Nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in possessione constitisse: nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu populi, et aculeos orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contra, hanc ab initio institutam fuisse rationem, ut illi, quod dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse: mirari vero se, quid hoc sit mysterii, cum omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici, et præsertim cum Colus in primis disputationibus etiam injussus ultro prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremo, cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine disputatione discessum est. Ea vero res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit opinionem populi de episcopis. Omnes enim cœperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die Vitus Vintoniensis amicus tuus[35], et Vatsonus Lincolniensis de tam aperto contemptu et contumacia damnati sunt ad turrim. Ibi nunc castrametantur et ex infirmis præmissis jam concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidie præsto esse in aula, et exspectare, quid de ipsis senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντευξιν ἀτελῆ et pene ἀνέντευκτον, quam tamen, quo melius rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus fortasse quam oportuit.

Bene vale, mi pater, decus meum, atque etiam animi dimi-

[35] [This is said ironically: White had written his Diocesio-Martyrion against Peter Martyr. See the list of authors supra, vol. i. after the preface.]

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dium mei. Si quid est apud nos[36] novarum rerum hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum literarum argumentum. Saluta plurimum meo nomine venerandum illum virum, et mihi in Christo dominum colendissimum D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Volphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum et[37] Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini vi. Aprilis 1559.

JOANNES JUELLUS, tuus.

Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri, Professori S. Theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, Viro doctissimo et Domino suo in Christo colendissimo.

VI.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. Magnam mihi fecit injuriam Sandus noster, qui, cum ego jam ad te scripsissem, et eum magnopere, ne id faceret, oravissem, tamen literas suas sine meis literis ad te miserit. Quamquam, nisi quod scio, officium a te jamdudum requiri meum, nihil hactenus factum est, quod te tantopere auditu juvare possit. O Maria et Mariana tempora! Quanto nunc mollius et remissius veritas propugnatur, quam pridem defendebantur mendacia! Adversarii nostri omnia præcipites, sine exemplo, sine jure ullo, sine lege; nos nihil nisi circumspecte, prudenter, considerate, callide: quasi sine nostris edictis et cautionibus Deus ipse vix possit auctoritatem suam retinere: ut multi nunc otiose ac scurriliter jocentur, Christum antea ejectum ab hostibus nunc excludi ab amicis. Ista

[36] [Burnet and the Parker edit. read "vos."]

[37] [This is Martyr's servant, whom the bishop afterwards pensioned.]

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mora non nihil nostrorum hominum animos emollivit; adversariorum autem furores et insanias incredibiliter confirmavit. Vix enim credas, quanto illi nunc sese confidentius gerant, quam unquam antea. Populus tamen ubique, et inprimis omnis passim nobilitas, et illorum odit triumphos et insolentiam, et mirifice sitit evangelium. Itaque factum est, ut multis jam in locis missæ etiam invitis edictis sua sponte ceciderint. Quod si regina ipsa eam abigeret e suo larario, res omnis facillime possit conficit. Tanti sunt apud nos exempla principum. Quod enim regis exemplo fit, id vulgus, ut scis, non dubitat recte fieri. Quanquam illa ita missam illam suam, quam adhuc temporis tantum causa retinet, temperavit, ut, quamvis in ea multa gerantur, quæ ferri vix possint, tamen non ita magno cum periculo audiri possint. Verum optima et veræ pietatis cupientissima fœmina, etsi omnia primo quoque tempore mutata cupiat, tamen induci non potest, ut quicquid[38] velit immutare sine lege: ne res non tam sanorum hominum judicio, quam furentis impetu multitudinis administrari videantur. Interim in senatu multa de religione mutata sunt, etiam invitis, et reclamantibus, atque omnia turbantibus episcopis. Sed ea, quoniam adhuc in vulgus ignota sunt, et sæpe sub incudem redeunt, nolo scribere.

Sandus, Grendallus, Sampson, Scoræus (et quid istos dico?) omnes adhuc sumus Londini, integra omnes valetudine, eadem conditione, eodem loco, eadem gratia. Multi de te, ubi sis, quid vivas, quid doceas, an velis redire in Angliam, si revoceris, honorificentissime percontantur. Sidallus statim scripsit ad me, ne quid iniquis de se rumoribus velim credere. Memini te, cum Argentinæ doceres, de potestate, quam habent principes in episcopos, hoc etiam addidisse, Justinianum imperatorem movisse loco Sylverium et Vigilium. Si quando huc scribes, quæso te, ut locum, ubi illa historia scripta sit, paucis indices[39]. De reginæ nuptiis, quas nos omnes maxime cupimus, hactenus nihil. Bene vale, mi pater

[38] [Park. ed. *l.* "quicquam."]

[39] [The authority for this statement of Peter Martyr's (which is often repeated in Bp. Jewel's works) is Crabb. Concil. tom. ii. pp. 2—4; and Evagrius lib. 4. cap. 19. (tom. iii. 401.) See vol. vi. supra, pp. 440, 441. Properly speaking, the deposition took place at the instance of the empress Theodora.]

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et Domine in Christo colendissime. Londini xiv. Aprilis 1559.

Jo. Juellus, tuus, tuus.

Istæ sunt tertiæ. Adscribo numerum, ut scire possis, an aliquæ, ut fit, perierint in itinere.

VII.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll., et ap. Burnet, Ref. Rec. III. ii. p. 363, No. 50.]

S. P. Accepi ternas a te literas, omnes eodem ferme tempore; quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe esse[40] debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quod essent a te, vel quod rerum tuarum statum significarent, et amorem erga me tuum, tamen nulla mihi alia causa visæ sunt jucundiores, quam quod officium meum requirerent, meque vel oblivionis vel tarditatis blande ac tacite accusarent: quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas literas, ex quo redii in Angliam: quas tamen video, cum tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe fit, ut aut hæreant uspiam, et ignavæ atque otiosæ imitentur religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itinere. Sed quiquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim pene inanes, quod non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur causa pontificis, et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errasse videantur. Atque ea causa moratur et impedit religionem. Difficile enim est currum[41] incitare, ut inquit ille, *βραδυπόδων ἵππων ἐνόντων.* Fecnamus abbas Vestmonasteriensis, opinor, ut autoritatem adderet professioni suæ, cum peroraret in senatu, nazaræos, prophetas, Christum ipsum et apostolos conjecit in numerum monachorum. Neque[42] causam nostram acrius oppugnat quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia

[40] [Burnet and Parker ed. omit "esse."]

[41] [Burn. Park. ed. *l.* "cursum."]

[42] [Burn. and Park. ed. "Nemo."]

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redacta sunt in fiscum. Illis ex permutatione dabuntur sacerdotia, quæ antea erant attributa monasteriis. Interim de scholis, et cura literarum magnum ubique silentium. Hoc scilicet est δαίμονας ἐξελαύνειν, ἄλλον ἄλλῳ, ὥς φασι, δαίμονι.

Regina de te honorifice et loquitur, et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russellio, se velle te accersere in Angliam. Id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et serio, et cupide, et honorifice petaris, nunquam ero autor, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis sermonibus tuis frui, sive, quod o utinam aliquando contingat, in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verum, quantum video, obstabit desiderio nostro inauspicata illa, et saxis, ac Saxonibus damnata παρουσία. Nostra enim nunc cogitat fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam e Germania, illud fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam si addo aliquando fuisse episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem Italum[42], si veteratorem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum[43], magis eum fortasse noris, quam ego. Sed quicquid est, nos articulos omnes religionis et doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus a Confessione Tigurina: quanquam ἀρχιμάγειρος[44] amicus tuus inventum illud, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirifice succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrum ne de obolo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abjicio insignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, Librum et Crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud vos[45], sed ita ut non ausit φαινοπροσωπεῖν[46], et venire in publicum. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore? Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi[47]. Verum, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere.

Libri tui nondum venerunt. Id ego tanto magis miror, quod tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordia. Munus

[42] [Burnet reads "statum."]

[43] [The same person is alluded to infra, in Jewel's letter to P. Martyr, Calend. Jun. 1560, as having possibly interfered against P. Martyr's recall to Oxford.]

[44] [This is a pun upon sir Anthony Cook's name.]

[45] [Park. ed. *l.* "nos."]

[46] [Most of the Greek words in this letter are omitted by Burnet.]

[47] [Goodman had seconded Knox's work on "the regiment of women," directed against Mary, but by implication affecting Elizabeth's right to the crown.]

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tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioqui sit per se ornatissimum, tamen, si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini [48] succumbere. Certe etsi te nunquam eram ex animo dimissurus, tamen hac commonefactione et mnemosyne [49] excitatus, tanto acrius et reverentius colam, quoad vixero, nomen tuum. Alii tui libri jam pridem allati sunt a bibliopolis, et emuntur cupidissime. Omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus venabulis illa bestia confossa sit.

Bene vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, dicerem etiam Frenshamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in balneo esse, aut in via. Hoc enim anni tempore, cum audítur cuculus, vix solet esse apud se.

Londini xxviii. Aprilis 1559.

Tui cupidissimus tuoque nomini deditissimus

JOANNES JUELLUS.

Istæ sunt quartæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro, D. Petr. Martyri, in ecclesia Tigurina professori Theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.

VIII.

Juellus Petr. Martyri.

[Ap. Burnet, vol. III. pt. ii. 367, No. 52.]

S. P. Et quid tandem ego ad te scribam? nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam

[48] [Burn. and Park. ed. suppl. "ultro."]

[49] [Burn. and Park. ed. "mnemosyno."]

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in Angliam. O Tigurum, Tigurum! quanto ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quam unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri! Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in patria nostra simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam ἄφατα καὶ ἀδιήγητα. Verum πολλάκι τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον.

De religione transactum est (utinam bonis auspiciis), ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in papistis fuit. Ita misere comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verum etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur unice de sacro et scenico apparatu: quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, a nescio quibus (nos enim non vocamur in consilium) serio et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos equidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur "auream" quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, "mediocritatem," et clamant, Dimidium plus toto.

Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parkerus Cantuarensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herefordensis, Grindallus Londinensis (nam Bonerus jussus est cedere); qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu de vino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interim nostri καραδοκοῦσι[49], et pollicentur sibi ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia, nescio quid audimus tumultuatum de religione: nobiles ejectis monachis occupasse monasteria: et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse: reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem velint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio.

Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione, Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: alii alio. Regina non vult appellari caput ecclesiæ; quod mihi certe non displicet. Interim quid *il cavetso della Chiesa* cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odio-

[49] [This is Burnet's reading: Park. ed. καιροφυλακτουσι.]

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sissime pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui a nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de missa:

> Qui bibit inde, furit, procul hinc discedite, queis est
> Mentis cura bonæ; qui bibit inde, furit.

Vident erepto[50] illo palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum octo post annos redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili et robusta fide. Quicquid erit, tamen nos eo nomine expectamus pignora a Gallia. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hoc tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi. Mitto Pikerinum, hominem Anglum. Tamen quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt, ut scis, *μυστικώτερα*: et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet, matrimonia esse fatalia.

Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Bernardinum, D. Muraltum, D. Wolphium, meo nomine. Liber tuus, quam reginæ misisti dono, redditus est a D. Cæcilio: ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter inquiro[51], nunquid illa velit: et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierent.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro, D. Petri Martyri, professori sacræ Theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

IX.

Juellus ad Bullingerum.

[Zur. Coll. et apud Burnet, vol. III. pt. ii. p. 358. No. 48.]

Gratissimæ erant mihi Parkhurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatiss. vir, vel quod essent a te, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quod suavitatis et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto illo[52] tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vestigia retinerent. Atque

[50] [Burnet "excepto."] [51] [Burnet "exquiro."] [52] [Burnet and Parker edit. "nos."]

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utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit. Quod nos hortaris, ut strenue ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus, non tantum non ingratus nobis, sed etiam pene necessarius. Nobis enim hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis a nobis defecerunt, et cum hostibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multo et contumacius resistunt quam ulli hostes, quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, h. e. cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque, quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restitui ab exilio. Nihil enim [53] dicam aliud: ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum. Quamquam, etsi molesta nobis est ista tam diuturna exspectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi recte fore. Habemus enim reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Eduardo rege fuit[54]. Ad eam rem non dubito tuas, reipublicæque vestræ literas, et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi: Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli attributam esse Christo, nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos ita fœde contaminatos esse ab Antichristo, ut jam non amplius possint satis pie a quoquam usurpari.

Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis, Hispanus monachus[55], omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrime plantaverat, everterunt a radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare, etsi magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possim in Anglia, tamen non possum esse auctor hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum, aut religionis causa ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos impios et

[53] [Burnet and Parker edit. "ne."]

[54] [Parker edit. "fuerat." This alludes to the Act of Uniformity, which passed the lords April 28. See Soames' Reform. iv. p. 657.]

[55] [Cardinal Pole, as chancellor of Oxford, had placed Peter à Soto and Johannes à Garcia as professors of divinity, 1555. Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. 332.]

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barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russellius, qua maxime re posset tibi aliisque tuis fratribus et symmystis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet sensit, velle se humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat, et hospitii causa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego vero nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quam si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret, et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certe facit, quantum potest.

Venerunt hodie Londinum legati regis Galliæ, qui gratulentur de pace. Princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Joannis Friderici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerinum, hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem, et pium, et regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit.

Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam. Sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam illam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia, non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Gualtherum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum, et corpus meum. Londini, xxii. Maji 1559.

Tui studiosissimus

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longe doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo et domino suo colendissimo; Tiguri.

X.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, Ref. Rec. vol. III. pt. ii. p. 365. No. 51.]

S. P. Hactenus minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi pater, quod multa me negotia publica privataque impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quam antea, sed quod

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minus posthac futurum sit multo quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum pene sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam et difficilem legationem [57] constituendæ religionis ergo per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Brestollium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium: vix ut quarto demum mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare, ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies, nescio quid ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in digressu [58] salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi: regina optime animata; populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi potius quam ut relinquant papam, quem toties jam antea adjuvarunt [59], malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam nullam habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent a cœtu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil supra. Omnino sperant et prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosissum [60] et valde deditum futuritionibus, ista non fore diuturna. Sed quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Opt. Max. gratias, quod res nostræ eo jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt.

In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellitibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo; vestes sericæ [61], calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur; ne vestigia quidem priscæ idololatriæ et superstitionis relinquuntur. Quid quæris? Audisti sæpe: σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν; hoc vero est σκυθιστὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν [62]. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se regem Scotiæ,

[57] [The commission bore date July 19, 1559. See Strype's Annals, I. i. 248.]

[58] [Burnet, "degressu."]

[59] [Burnet et Park. ed. melius "abjurarunt."]

[60] [So the Editor's MS., and Burnet: Park. ed. reads "prædictiosissimum."]

[61] [Burnet "scenicæ."]

[62] [In the State Paper Office is a letter from archbishop Parker, Nov. 6, 1559, in which he trusts that God will preserve the Church from such a visitation as Knox has attempted in Scotland.]

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hæredem Angliæ, si quid reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitus. Id mirari non debes si nostri homines moleste ferant: et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. Fortasse, ut fit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si sit, et si accedant etiam nuptiæ; sed desino divinare. D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minus amice, quam si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur episcopi, Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfordiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Grendalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus apostolorum Sarisburiensis. Quod ego onus prorsus decrevi excutere. Interea in academiis mera est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potius, quam ut velint in religionem consentire. Sed comites jam diu[63] exspectant, et clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale mi pater et dulcissimum decus meum. Saluta venerandum virum, et mihi mille nominibus in Christo colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberem, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualtherum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gessnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque pistolettos aureos a D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderer angustia temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantum video, ita sunt difficiles, ut nesciam, an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi pater, vale; quantum ego tibi optare possum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum Annamque et Martyrillum meo nomine. Londini Calendis August. 1559.

JOANNES JUELLUS tuus
tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

SUBSCRIPTIO.

Viro longe doctissimo D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio profitenti sacram Theologiam in ecclesia Tigurina; Tiguri.

[63] [Burnet and Park. ed. "jamdudum."]

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XI.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. III. pt. ii. p. 383. No. 56.]

S. P. Tandem tamen aliquando Londinum redii, confectō molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quod nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego vero interea tres totos menses longinqua et perdifficili legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristollii, redditæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster advexerat[63], ita amice scriptæ, ita suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum atque occupationum prorsus eriperent ex animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias. Itaque ego miser privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse video. Quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad te vix quintas pervenisse.

Sed de legatione, inquies, illa vestra quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem, ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis quanta ubique proruperit seges et sylva superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas reliquias[64] divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant, et nescio quas portiunculas sacræ erucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat. Ecclesiæ cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius aut fœdius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent a nostra sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum considerate videantur mutasse voluntatem, turbant omnia. Sed turbent, quantum velint; nos tamen interim illos de gradu et de sacerdotiis conturbavimus[65].

Hardingus[66] homo constans locum mutare maluit quam

[63] [Burnet and Park. ed., "adduxerat."]

[64] [Burnet adds, "superstitiosas."]

[65] [Burnet and Park. ed., "exturbavimus."]

[66] [This was Jewel's principal opponent, Thomas Harding; see Strype, Annals, I. ii. 175.]

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sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem, sed constanter, hoc est, perinvitus. Smithæus[67] autem tuus, quid ille? inquies. An potest a Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam; sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est, et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim homo gravis, et columen atque antistes religionis accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est adversarius infestissimus papistarum. I nunc, et nega transubstantiationem. Papistarum acies pene sua sponte ceciderunt. O nisi nobis deessent operæ, non male de religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est currum agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso Marte[68].

Heri, ubi primum Londinum redii, audivi ex episcopo Cantuariensi, te invitari ad nos, et tibi lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio; hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonii doceat sacras litteras. Equidem te, mi pater, videre percupio, et præsertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam prudentiam; nosti genium et ingenium insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus esse inchoata, utinam sint bene *μόνιμα*[69]. Nihil est hodie illa schola desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, pene lusisse operam. Ita in lætissima aliquando segete nunc "infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ."

Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissime distrahitur. Omnes nunc exspectamus, quam mox editurus sis alias tuas commentationes in librum Judicum, et in duos libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te illos libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere.

Suecus et Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificissime ambiunt; sed Suecus impense. Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propiores cogitat. Ala-

[67] [This Dr. Richard Smith, perhaps the most eminent of the popish controversialists of the day, is the same person who is called Faber, supra p. 113. See a full account of him and his writings in Wood's Athenæ, I. 333. He wrote three works, all dated 1550, against Peter Martyr by name, one of them in monastic verse. Ibid.]

[68] [Burnet and Parker edition, "monte."]

[69] [Burnet reads "boni principia."]

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nus noster obiit diem suum, postquam designatus esset episcopus Roffensis. De[70] Scotia hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videri novum. Docetur evangelium. Ecclesiæ assidue colliguntur, et omnia priscæ superstitionis monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant se posse et regnum, et religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te alias pluribus. Instat nunc annus sexagesimus, de quo tu mihi solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Italo[71] nescio quæ mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπωλείας, et in omnium oculos incurrat veritas evangelii Jesu Christi.

Vale, mi pater, et uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc et[72] tuis literis, et Abeli nostri prædicatione notissimam. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse a vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembris 1559.

Tuus ex animo

JOANNES JUELLUS.

D. Etonus instantissime rogavit, ut te suo nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latine scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, nemo de te aut sæpius aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus salutem et tibi dicit, et uxori tuæ.

XII.

Juellus Gualtero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. Quod novas istas curas et molestias non tam mihi quam ecclesiæ nostræ, de qua jam tandem te non pessime sperare scribis, tam amice gratularis, ornatissime vir, ego tibi non mea sane causa, cui tam grave onus imponi video, sed

[70] [Burnet and ed. Park., "ex."]

[71] [Burnet, "Stato." This was Antony Torquato of Ferrara, who gave Matthias king of Hungary a prediction in 1480: some of which came to pass; but as to the rest, unfortunately for his credit, he was too *circumstantial*.]

[72] [Burnet and Park. ed., "ex."]

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ecclesiæ nostræ nomine, de qua video te tam sollicite cogitare, ago gratias. Nam quod ad me quidem attinet, tu optime nosti, quanti laboris sit, homini præsertim imperito rerum, et semper in otio atque in umbra educato, repente admoveri ad gubernaculum ecclesiæ, cumque res suas tueri vix possit, suscipere curam aliorum omnium. Tamen quoniam Dei causa est, quanto minus possumus, tanto diligentius dabimus operam. Etsi enim desint alia, voluntas tamen, spero, non deerit. Vos interea, quoniam naves subduxistis in tutum, et consistitis in littore, orate Deum, ut navim nostram adhuc jactatam in fluctibus, et undique a piratis et prædonibus obsessam educat aliquando in portum. Incredibilis enim est hoc tempore rabies nostrorum papistarum, qui potius quam ut errasse aliqua in re videantur, impotentissime ruunt, et turbant omnia. Deus, cujus nos unius nomen et gloriam spectamus, juvet conatus nostros, et hostium suorum conjurationes, et nefaria consilia dissipet.

Parkhurstus abiit Clevam ad suos; ibi nunc regnat, et omnes episcopos ex alto despicit. Si quid erat apud nos novarum rerum, quod certe nec valde certum nec ita multum erat, illud omne scripsi plenius ad D. Bullingerum, et ad D. Martyrem. Si quid est, in quo ego tibi aut usui, aut voluptati esse possim, memineris me, quocunque loco futurus sum, et esse et semper fore tuum. Bene vale, ornatissime vir atque optime. Saluta uxorem tuam mulierem lectissimam, D. Bullingerum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavatherum, D. Zwinglium, D. Frisium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wolphium, aliosque vestros, quos ego merito habeo carissimos, meo nomine. Etsi Parkhurstus abest hinc longe gentium, tamen ego tibi ejus nomine, uxorique tuæ, totique familiæ salutem dico. Nostri omnes te salutant, tuosque omnes. Iterum vale. Londini secundo Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex animo
JOANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Gualthero[73], *fideli ministro evangelii in ecclesia Tigurina, amico et fratri carissimo; Tiguri.*

[73] [Gualter is called by Strype "that great light of Zurich," when he relates his encomium upon Bp. Jewel, upon occasion of his death, contained in his preface to his Homil. in 1 Cor. See Life of Parker, ii. 50.]

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XIII.

Juellus Simlero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. Gratularis tu quidem mihi pro tua humanitate, mi Josia: at egomet mihi ipsi non gratulor. Etsi enim nihil mihi adhuc aliud impositum sit, quam nomen episcopi, rem autem ipsam, et functionem nondum attigerim, tamen illud ipsum onus longe impar sentio esse meis viribus, et jam nunc tantum sub inani titulo incipio succumbere. Quid in[74] futurum censes, ubi ad rem ipsam ventum erit? Literæ tamen tuæ mihi multo jucundissimæ acciderunt. Vidi enim in illis et animum, et amorem erga me tuum. Et certe quid potest a Josia, homine jucundissimo, proficisci non jucundum? Quare tibi et de literis tuis, et de illa gratulatione, etsi mihi res ipsa permolesta et ingrata videatur, quam possum gratissimas ago gratias.

Quod scribis, sperare te, episcopos apud nos sine ullis superstitiosis et putidis cæremoniis inaugurari, hoc est, opinor, sine oleo, sine chrismate, sine novacula, nihil falleris. Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere. Unctos istos, et rasos, et personatos ventres Romam remisimus, unde illos primum accepimus. Nostros enim esse volumus pastores, operarios[75], vigiles, episcopos. Quoque id commodius possit fieri, opes episcoporum imminuuntur, et ad mediocritatem quandam rediguntur: ut semoti ab illa regia pompa et strepitu aulico, possint tranquillius et attentius vacare gregi Christi. Quod autem Julium tuum meumque ita ambitiose commendas, etsi es Josias, tamen puto in ea re mihi a te injuriam fieri. Quid enim? An ego Julium meum, hospitem, amicum, fratrem meum non novi? An potest unquam ejus calvities, tanta præsertim, mihi excidere ex animo? Dii meliora. Quoties ego senem aliquem calvum, incurvum, obstipum, prementem alvum et cacaturientem video, toties mihi in animum incurrit meus Julius. Certe quicquid erit, si vel consilio, vel auxilio, vel re, vel etiam capistro opus erit, Julius apud Juellum semper erit Julius. Extra jocum, ubi Julius meus ad nos venerit, si quid Juello supererit, non egebit.

[74] [Park. ed. "tu."]
[75] [Park. ed. (MS. "operas") "operosos."]

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Bene vale, mi Josia, et uxorem tuam, optimam mulierem, et cultissimum atque humanissimum juvenem Hermannum saluta meo nomine. Parkhurstus rus abiit ad regnum suum[76]. Oravit tamen me proficiscens, ut tibi suo nomine quam officiosissime salutem dicerem. Vale, mi Josia, vale. Utinam aliquando dicere possim tibi coram: Josia salve.

Tiguri, [2 Nov. 1559.] Tuus ex animo

JOANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque humanissimo viro,
D. Josiæ Simlero, amico carissimo.

XIV.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 386. No. 57.]

S. Pl. Biduo postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de via atque anhelans nescio quid ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt a te literæ ternæ eodem tempore, quarum suavissima lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim, quoties de te cogito, quod certò assidue et in singulas horas facio, et nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione et memoria tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego, videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amœnissime colloqui. Quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes episcoporum.

De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, o utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantopere placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, o Deus bone! nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque, quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris

[76] [The rectory of Cleeve: see the preceding letter, No. XII.]

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ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optime scribis, reliquiæ Amorrhæorum; quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri, atque exstirpari possint. Nostræ quidem nec vires ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt.

Quod scribis, esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem, quos dicas. Sed mihi crede, non sunt eo numero aut loco, quo tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent, non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quod noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quod puduerit scribere. Nunc uterque[77] gravissime laborat e quartana, sed Ἀρχιμάγειρος, quoniam est natura tristiori, multo gravius.

Ingemuisti pro tua erga communem causam pietate, cum audires, nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum, et a Scoto et Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa et causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facile intereunt, quæ facile maturitatem assequuntur.

De libro tuo memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortasse, ut fit, perierunt in itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, reginam ultro et cupide legisse epistolam, et opus ipsum, atque in universum doctrinam et ingenium tuum mirifice prædicasse, librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quid ego dicam? Pudet me, nec scio, quid respondeam. Tamen regina sedulo sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, qua valetudine, qua conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facere. Omnino velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tua voce coluisses Academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam et misere habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, deliberationes Saxonicæ, et legationes Segulianæ ista consilia peremerunt. Tamen, quicquid est, nihil est hoc tempore

[77] [From the next letter it will be seen that the two persons intended were sir Thomas Wroth and sir Anthony Cook.]

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celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. O utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam et robur assequantur. Cupio enim, mi pater, te videre, et suavissimis sermonibus et amicissimis consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius uti spero, ubi videro, quas Samarobrivas[78] aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale, dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam, optimam mulierem, meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut feliciter pariat, et "pulchra faciat te prole parentem." Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualtherum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gessnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum tuum meumque, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini v. Novembris 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus est

Jo. Juellus.

XV.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 388. No. 58.]

S. P. Etsi ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuncium, quem forte audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem a me dimittere.

Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissime. In cæremoniis, et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola male nata, male auspicata stat adhuc in larario principis. Me miserum! res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam. Sed jam, quantum video, conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri nimisque mystice.

[78] [Amiens. There is evidently an allusion here to a passage in Cicero's epistle to Trebatius (Epist. ad Div. vii. 11.): "una mehercule colocutio nostra pluris erit, quam omnes Samarobrivæ."]

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Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum [79]. Cæcilius nostræ causæ impense favet [80]. Episcopi adhuc designati tantum sunt; interim prædia pulchre augent fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim quam tu non ita pridem doctissime atque optime coluisti, miserrime nunc disjecta jacet sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ulla literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, ex animo atque unice cupio, autor sum, ut, si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego prudentiam tuam, et tu vicissim, spero, observantiam erga te meam. Equidem hoc possum vere affirmare, neminem esse hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit, quam mihi. Tamen, ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quam præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parum opportune. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra marique juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nosti enim: "tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." Gallum adventurum ajunt cum omnibus copiis; et fortasse non minoribus excipietur [81].

Scripsit ad me nuper comes Critonis tui Pamphilus [82] e Scotia, cum aliis de rebus, tum ut de Frenshamo nostro nescio quid, neque enim id aperte scripsit, ad te scriberem. Visus tamen mihi est de testamento Frenshami scribere aliquid voluisse. De quo quid actum sit, hactenus nescio. Oro tamen te, quoniam nemo isthic est alius, cui possim satis verecunde tantum negotium imponere, ut velis rem eam tibi Julioque tuo esse curæ. Frenshamo autem nostro, si adhuc vivit, cupio bene; sin autem, quod magis puto, quodque ad nos etiam scribitur, est mortuus, spero esse bene. Audio

[79] [The same illustration occurs supra, p. 119.]

[80] [Burnet, "favit."]

[81] [The remainder of this letter was omitted by Burnet.]

[82] [The editor for the Parker Society has shewn, with great probability, that Crito means the earl of Arran, one of queen Elizabeth's suitors, who had been assisted to escape from Geneva into Scotland by Randall or Randolph, here designated as Pamphilus. Queen Elizabeth is called Glycerium (infra Feb. 4, 1560). Vid. Terentii Andriam.]

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pervenisse Londinum fasciculum quendam librorum tuorum de votis contra Smithum, et in illis unum esse, quem tu ad me miseris nominatim. Equidem librum illum adhuc non vidi: sæpe enim absum Londino, et multum distineor laboribus. Nunc ubicunque est, odorabor. Tibi vero interea pro eo, ac debeo, proque eo, ac humanitas tua postulat, ago immortales gratias. Nolo D. Bernardinus[83] me sui oblitum putet. Fides quidem mea et industria non defuit. Sed omnia quæruntur et conservantur hoc tempore alendo militi. Quinque coronatos Italicos, quos ejus nomine recepi a Barthol. Compagno, reddidi Acontio. Nunc agimus de ejus canonicatu, et bona spes est posse impetrari. Ego Julio meo, si ad nos venerit, omnia polliceor. Moneo tamen, ut exspectet aliquantisper: ne cogamur una redire Tigurum. Bene vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et filiolo tuo Ischacco, quem ego huc usque vagientem audire videor, basiolum dato meo nomine. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Vickium, D. Hallerum, D. Volphium, hominem jucundissimum et in amplissima civitate natum D. Frisium, D. Hermannum tuum meumque, Julium, Juliam, et moratissimum nunc puerum Martyrillum. Nostri nunc omnes pene sunt in dispersione gentium. Grendallus Londinensis, Sandus Vigorniensis, Coxus Eliensis, D. Cocus, D. Vrothus Quartanenses te salutant. Iterum iterumque vale, mi pater. Londini xvi. Novembris 1559.

Jo. Juellus totus tuus.

Istæ sunt nonæ[84].

XVI.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. Allatæ sunt ad me hesterno die e Scotia literæ a Critonis nostri genio et comite Pamphilo de toto statu rerum

[83] [Bernardinus Ochin or Ocellus, born 1487, had been vicar-general of the Capuchins, turned reformer, and came to England with Peter Martyr.]

[84] [This numbering of the letters is omitted in the Parker ed.]

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Scoticarum ab illo usque tempore, quo primum cœptum est tumultuari. Quæ omnia oravit me ut ego diligenter atque ordine ad te perscriberem. Scripsisset ipse potius, si id vel temporis vel loci ratio ferre commode potuisset. Ego vero, quoniam te scio inprimis brevitate delectari, scribam breviter. Scoti ab initio edicta quædam proposuerunt publice: primum, se publico tantum studere bono; neminem sibi quicquam privatim quærere. Deinde videri sibi esse ex usu reipublicæ, ut regina desisteret munire Letham oppidum maritimum, et Gallis, si quid opus esset, valde opportunum. Id si illa facere recusaret, se facturos, quod deceret homines studiosos libertatis et amantes patriæ. Regina vero, ut est mulier ferox et sanguinis Gallici, repudiare conditiones, clamare, indignum esse, legem imponi sibi a suis. Nec deerant Scoti complures, qui ejus fidem et autoritatem sequerentur. Quid quæris? Venitur ad arma. Ibi episcopus D. Andreæ, homo militaris, dignus videlicet, qui inserviret mulierculæ, ante conflictum deseritur a suis omnibus. Duo tantum pueruli remanserunt, credo, ne solus atque incomitatus rediret ad dominam. Scoti habent in castris concionatores Knoxum, et Goodmannum, et sese vocant cœtum Christi. Postea mittunt ad reginam, ut discedat Letha, nisi vi et malo extrudi malit. Et ab hoc tempore agi cœptum est de fœdere Anglico. Regina, virili mulier animo, quamvis in singulos dies relinqueretur a suis, tamen nihil perterrefieri, tenere præsidium, excursiones in hostem facere, omnia moliri, et suis oculis lustrare omnia. Scoti viribus valent et multitudine, et, nisi imperiti essent obsidionis, et artis bellicæ, jamdudum aliquid effecissent. Velitatum est leviter[85] utrinque ad sextum Novembris. Postea Scoti sese receperunt in hiberna. Statim a reginalibus rumusculi dissipati sunt, Scotos fractis animis diffugisse. Verum illi adhuc et principes una retinent, et conferunt consilia, et augent numerum, et colligunt pecuniam, et, si quid opus erit, militem habent in procinctu.

Hæc volui breviter. Plura posthac dabo, ubi plura resciero; multa enim exspectantur. Nos instruimus militem,

[85] [Park. ed. "leniter."]

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et in hostem serio cogitamus. Vale, mi pater; saluta uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, etc. D. Hermannum, Julium, et Juliam. Londini primo Decembris, quo die nos primum audivimus, Mariam esse mortuam, 1559.

Tuus JOANNES JUELLUS.

Istæ sunt decimæ, ni male memini; vide, an numerus conveniat[86].

XVII.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 390. No. 60.]

S. pl. O mi pater, quid ego ad te scribam[87]? Rei non multum est, temporis vero multo minus. Sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te autore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui aliquid sapere videbantur, insaniant. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re disputatio. Arbitri erunt ex senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis, et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis episcopus, et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κεῖται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, et quam gravibus, et solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim sub judice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te episcopus. Eo enim jam res pervenit, ut aut cruces argenteæ et stanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus relinquendi[88].

De Frenshamo nostro, quod illum ita humaniter tractaris, ago tibi, mi pater, quas debeo, gratias. Mortuum ex tuis literis primum didici. De ejus pecunia, quam moriens reliquit Tiguri, quid scribam, nescio. Neque enim ego testamentum ejus unquam vidi, et Randolphus noster, qui vidit, est nunc in Scotia. Tamen si quid erit, ego omnibus modis

[86] [This sentence is omitted in the Parker ed.]

[87] [Burnet, "adscribam."]

[88] [The whole of the next paragraph, and the greater part of the following one, are omitted in Burnet.]

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consultum cupio meo Julio. Atque hoc, quæso, illi significa meo nomine, ut, si quid est, quod Frenshamus non legarit nominatim, partem aliquam apud se retineat, et in ea re, κατ' Ἀλκόξονον tuum, utatur judicio suo.

E Scotia varia nunciantur, et omnia satis læta. Idque satis sit hoc tempore uno verbo significasse. Adhuc enim de rebus singulis explorati nihil habeo. Nos magnas copias habemus in finibus, et terra marique Scotis auxilium ferimus. Crito hospes tuus, et ejus comes Pamphilus non stertunt totas noctes. Venit ille Athenas insolens, et placuit Glycerio. Nosti? Sed quid ago? Destituor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum, summum et popularem, episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethropum Carleolensem, et Bainum Lichefildensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem[89] ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus ruri agit longe gentium, Parkhurstus in regno suo[90]. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, reverendissimum patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Volphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium: ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc tempore, si esset otium. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scordus[91], Falconerus, Elmerus[92] te salutant, et, cum tibi omnia cupiant, nihil tamen magis cupiunt, quam Angliam. Quanquam, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ, crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Bene vale, mi pater, bene vale. Londini iv. Februarii 1560.

Tibi deditissimus

Jo. Juellus, tuus.

[89] [Lives of bishops Whyte, Oglethorpe, and Tonstall will be found in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Of bp. Baynes there is a full account in Strype.]

[90] [That is, as the Parker editor has shewn from a letter from Parkhurst himself, the rectory of Cleeve.]

[91] [Leg. "Scoræus."]

[92] [Consecrated bishop of London 1576.]

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XVIII.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Negotia ista mea, etsi hoc efficiunt, ut ego minus ad te scribam, hoc tamen profecto non efficiunt, nec certe unquam effectura sunt, ut ego minus te diligam, aut de te minus cogitem. Quid enim minus possim, præsertim quem patris loco habere debeo? Scripsi ad te non ita pridem per Burcherum nostrum, a quo etiam literas recepi tuas. Sed longo post tempore: scriptæ enim sub initium Octobris, redditæ mihi sunt Idibus, opinor, Januarii; tam diu ille hærere in itinere cogebatur. Idque puto in meas etiam ad te literas non raro accidere, et præsertim postquam Abelus noster discesserit Argentorato, nec Anglus ibi quisquam remanserit, qui res nostras curare possit. Si testamentum Frenshami nostri mittatur hoc tempore Francofordiam, negotium dedi Conrado, famulo Arnoldi Birkmanni, juveni probo et bonæ fidei, qui illud a Froschovero recipiat, et secum deferat, et apud se habeat. Ego enim, ubi ille redierit, non ero Londini. Jamdudum enim cupio Sarisberiam. Sed impedimur mille vinculis. Interim tamen, dum nos hic tenemur, nescio quis Pan curet oves? Verum ego de illo testamento et pecunia nihil scio, et sine Randolpho nihil possum. Nam si scirem aut possem, Julio tuo meoque summam aliquam et liberaliter et ultro deciderem. Randolphus autem abest adhuc longe gentium in Scotia. Itaque literas tuas et D. Bullingeri ad illum scriptas habeo adhuc apud me integras. Neque enim video, qua ratione ad illum tam procul satis tuto mitti possint.

Religio nunc aliquanto confirmatior est, quam fuit. Populus ubique ad meliorem partem valde proclivis. Magnum ad eam rem momentum attulit ecclesiastica et popularis musica. Postquam enim semel Londini cœptum est in una tantum ecclesiola cani publice, statim non tantum ecclesiæ aliæ finitimæ, sed etiam longe disjunctæ civitates cœperunt idem institutum certatim expetere. Nunc ad crucem Pauli videas interdum sex hominum millia, finita concione, senes, pueros, mulierculas una canere, et laudare Deum. Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet. Vident enim sacras conciones hoc

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pacto profundius descendere in hominum animos, et ad singulos pene numeros convelli et concuti regnum suum. Nihil tamen habent, quod jure ac merito queri possint. Missæ enim nostra memoria nunquam erant in majori pretio. Singulæ enim nunc æstimantur in singula spectatorum capita non minoris quam ducentis coronatis. Vitus tuus, qui ita candide et amice in te scripsit, mortuus est, credo, ex rabie; et religio, quod mireris, habet nihilo deterius. Id hominem patientem male habuit, quod videret se suosque publice rideri a pueris.

Si Julius noster ad nos veniat, nihil illi a me neque ad victum, neque ad cultum, neque ad crumenam deerit. Cupio enim voloque meo Julio non tantum tua causa, cui ego omnia debeo, sed etiam ipsius causa Julii. Tamen, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ, me autore subsistat paululum, dum istæ turbæ conquiescant. Interim ne putes, mi pater, neminem hic esse, qui de te absente cogitet. Hucusque Oxonii asservatur lectio theologica illa tua, non alii spero, si tu ipse velis, quam tibi. Cæcilius tuus est. Gulielmus Petrus humanissime de te prædicat. Posthac si, re confecta et religione reque publica constituta, et ultro, et honorifice, et reginæ, quæ te gerit in oculis, et reipublicæ, nomine revoceris, obsecro, ne pigeat redire. Redibis, spero, ad homines non ingratos, et tui bene memores.

Vale, mi pater, dulce decus meum, atque animi plus quam dimidium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam, et filiolum suavissimum meo nomine. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Volphium, D. Frisium, et inprimis D. Bernardinum, cujus res apud nos utinam irent paulo celerius, juvenem cultissimum Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Vale, mi pater, vale; o quis mihi dabit, ut dicere aliquando possim: Mi pater, salve! Londini v. Martii 1560.

Tui nominis observantissimus

Jo. Juellus. Sarisberiensis.

Istæ sunt decimæ tertiæ, ni male memini. Tu vide, an omnes ad te pervenerint. D. Lælium, si redierit in centrum suum, saluta, quæso, meo nomine.

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XIX.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. Si ex denis meis literis octo ad te, ut scribis, pervenerint, mi pater et dulce decus meum, minus multo jacturæ factum est, quam putaram. Ego enim sperare nunquam potui, vel tertiam literarum mearum partem ad te incolumem perventuram. Verum etsi illæ subsistant, ut fit, otiosæ, aut delitescant uspiam, aut etiam pereant in itinere, tamen ego non desinam ea causa officium meum facere, neque unquam committam, ut tabellariorum perfidia videar velle liberare fidem meam. Crede enim mihi, nihil unquam facio libentius, quam cum aut ad te scribo, aut de te cogito. Itaque, o Deum immortalem! quoties me fingo esse Tiguri, et pro nostra inter nos amœnissima consuetudine modo te audire, modo tecum colloqui, ut interim, cum vera non liceat, saltem falsa atque umbratili voluptate possim perfrui. Confectis autem rebus nostris, et pace reque publica, quod brevi speramus fore, constituta, umbras istas et imagines missas faciemus, et te coram, spero, præsentem intuebimur. Id enim scire debes nobis bonisque omnibus esse curæ[93]. Interim Academiæ, et nostra illa imprimis Oxoniensis, miserum in modum deseruntur, sine bonis literis, sine lectionibus, sine studio ullo pietatis. Cœcum illud numen erit aliquando magis propitium. Verum adhuc tempora ista qualia sint, vides. Ὁ Ἄρης, ὁ Ἄρης, ὁ βροτολοιγὸς fundum ipsum τοῦ πλούτου exhaurit. Ubi serenitas aliqua redierit, et istæ turbæ conquieverint, Eleazaro tuo Damasceno nec id, de quo tu scribis, nec alia majora deerunt. Si ad nos venerit, vel potius ubi venerit, erit apud me eodem loco, quo si esset frater meus.

De Eliperio tuo non tribuo mihi tantum, ut te consoler. Novi enim ego prudentiam tuam. Quod dies alioqui minueret, id scio te ratione solere antevertere. Utinam tamen puerum ita bellum, et ita tui similem, et hac potissimum ætate tua sus-

[93] [P. Martyr was invited over to England, probably, as Strype thinks, at the suggestion of the duke of Norfolk; but declined the invitation for reasons stated in his letter dated July 22, 1561. See Strype A. 1. i. pp. 381, 382.]

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ceptum potuisses habere superstitem, non tantum qui tecum garriret aliquando, et te oblectaret domi, sed etiam qui ingenii, pietatis, virtutum tuarum omnium, doctrinæque tuæ hæres esset. Sed quoniam Deus Opt. Max. ita, ut est, esse voluit, melius, quam est, esse non potest.

De quinque illis coronatis Italicis scripsi ter ad Julium nostrum, bis ad D. Bernardinum. Tradidi autem eos ante septem menses D. Acontio Italo, qui nunc est apud comitem Bedfordiensem. Ille sese pollicitus est curaturum, ut quam primum et quam optima fide redderentur Tiguri. Itaque D. Bernardinum toto hoc tempore nec pecuniam suam recepisse, nec vel a me vel ab Acontio quicquam audisse miror. Redditum est mihi testamentum Frenshami nostri. Ducenti illi coronati sunt adhuc Antverpiæ apud Arnoldum Birkmannum non minus in tuto, quam si essent apud me. Pamphilus est in Scotia; ibi operam diligenter navat Critoni suo. In ejus reditum res manebit integra.

Nonis Maji summa turris ecclesiæ meæ Sarisberiensis ita non tacta, sed concussa est de cœlo, ut a fastigio ad quadraginta cubitos rima perpetua duceretur. Tu vide, num quid in ea re sit diri[94] ominis. Ego forte nondum eo veneram. Quod si venissem, ut sunt hominum mentes superstitiosæ et fatuæ, omnis illa clades conjecta fuisset in adventum meum. Crastino tamen die proficiscor, et manum ad aratrum admoveo. Deus bene fortunet causam suam.

Petrus Alexander[95] cum venisset ad nos Calendis Maji, post aliquot dies restitutus est in præbendam suam[96] in integrum. Agit nunc Londini apud D. Hetonum tuum, et concionatur in ecclesia Gallorum. Crito est in summa gratia. Si quos antea habebat adversarios, eos nunc tandem prudentia et pietate conciliavit sibi, et fecit suos. Id mihi inde usque literis significavit noster Pamphilus. Verum de illis rebus omnibus scribo plenius ad D. Bullingerum. Falkonerus noster obiit diem suum. Parkhurstus factus est episcopus Norvicensis. Bonerus, Fecnamus monachus, Patus[97], Sto-

[94] [Park. ed. "divini."]

[95] [See Strype Mem. II. i. 321, 472.]

[96] [In Canterbury Cathedral. He was also rector of All-Hallows, Lombard Street.]

[97] [This is the bishop titular of Worcester, whom Jewel alludes to supra, vol. vi. p. 219, as having sat in the Council of Trent.]

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ræus, juris peritus, Vatsonus, quod animis obstinatis a sacro cœtu abstineant, et in omnibus angulis religionem istam, quam nos hodie profitemur, insectentur et lacerent, conjecti sunt in carcerem. Regina enim, fœmina prudentissima atque optima, virili prorsus animo et fortiter pollicita est, se non passuram, ut quisquam suorum possit impune ab hac religione dissidere.

Nos ubique scribimus militem, et omnia comparamus ad bellum [98]. Gallus si advenerit, non opprimet, spero, imparatos. Quanquam, ut nunc sunt tempora, ille hostis non ita multum habet otii a re sua, ut possit curare aliena. Deus aliquando componat istas turbas, ut, confectis rebus, possimus te revocare in Angliam. Crede enim mihi, nemo est mortalium, de quo nostri homines aut sæpius, aut amicius, aut reverentius loqui soleant. D. Cæcilius, quocum heri pransus sum in aula, D. Knollus, D. Wrothus orarunt, ut te plurimum suo nomine salutarem. Et quod tu fortasse vix putes, D. Wilielmus Petrus, cum audiret mentionem de te fieri, omnino oravit, ut suo etiam nomine idem facerem.

Salvere jubebis a me optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualtherum, D. Lavaterum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Simlerum, D. Wolphium, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, D. Paullum, Julium meum, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Quibus ego omnibus, totique ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Tigurinæ, omnia precor, omnia cupio. Vale, mi pater, mi pater, vale. Vale, mi domine in Christo colendissime. Ecclesiam causamque nostram commendo tuis precibus.

Tiguri, xxii. Maii 1560. JOANNES JUELLUS,
ex animo et vere tuus.

Istæ sunt decimæ quartæ.

XX.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te, mi pater, non ita pridem, biduo antequam discederem Londino. Eas dedi proficiscens

[98] [The letters in the State Paper Office dated during the earlier part of this year are full of details respecting musters, munitions of war, beacons, &c.]

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Hetono nostro, ut ad te primo quoque tempore mitterentur. Nunc postquam ad meos veni Sarisberiam, etsi nihil detractum est de observantia erga te mea, imo etiam, quamvis ea ex longo isto et mihi permolesto tui desiderio infinitis partibus aucta sit, et augeatur indies, literarum tamen scribendarum opportunitas non eadem videtur nunc esse, quæ fuit antea. Longe enim nunc absum a turba et strepitu, minusque multo audio, quid agatur. Et si quid volo, tabellarium tamen, qui isthuc eat, non invenio. Scribam tamen, quicquid erit, imo etiam quamvis nihil erit. Pereant istæ sane, si volunt, in itinere. Meum erga te officium, obsequium, studium non peribit. Erit, spero, aliquando tempus, cum propius nos mutuo salutabimus. Quem ego diem ubi videro, et in tuum complexum venero, satis me diu vixisse arbitrabor. Ea res nobis omnibus curæ est. Et quid impediat, non videmus, nisi id forte est, quod suspicor, quodque ad te aliquando scripsi, Petrum et Paulum [99] tibi reditum interclusisse. Sed Deus hujusmodi apostolis male velit. Lectio tamen tua adhuc vacat, nec scio, cui potius alii servetur quam tibi. Interea tamen ibi omnia ruunt et pessum eunt: collegia enim nunc illa plena puerorum sunt, inanissima literarum.

Smithæus abiit in Valliam. Ibi eum aiunt duxisse uxorem, opinor, ut omnia tua argumenta refutaret. Quicquid est, tamen jactat canos, et inane caput: habet nunc popinam, et vivit de taberna meritoria, contemtus a nostris, a suis, a notis, ab ignotis, a senibus, a pueris, a se ipso, ab omnibus. Sidallus noster [1] Harpocratem colit, et tegit sententiam: itaque nunc nec inter aves, nec inter quadrupedes numeratur. Bonus quidem vir, uti nosti, utque ego sat scio, observans atque amans tui. Et fortasse, ubi copias nostras videbit esse auctas, ultro accedet, et ponet istam simulationem, et aperte se geret. Nam in lustrando exercitu oportet aliquem esse ultimum.

Episcopi aliqui Mariani sunt in turri: Londinensis in vetere hospitio suo, ubi antea fuerat sub Edovardo rege. Quo cum abductus esset, et in medium jam carcerem pervenisset,

[99] [See the allusion to the same person, in Jewel's letter to P. Martyr, supra, p. 120.]

[1] [See Strype, Parker, i. 154, quoted by the editor for the Parker society.]

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et, ut est homo perurbanus, et non tantum animo, sed etiam facie, ut scis, liberali, vinctos, quos ibi reperit, officiose salutasset, et amicos ac socios appellasset, reclamavit statim quidam e numero: "Et egone, inquit, bestia, videor tibi socius esse tuus? Abi, quo dignus es, ad inferos; ibi invenies socios. Ego unum tantum hominem, eumque inductus aliqua causa occidi; tu magnum numerum bonorum virorum, martyres Christi, testes atque assertores veritatis, sine causa occidisti. Et me quidem facti pœnitet; tu vero ita obduruisti, ut nesciam, an possis duci pœnitudine." Hoc scribo, ut scias, quo ille loco sit, quem etiam scelerati homines et malefici repudient, et fugiant, nec ferant socium.

Constans[2] rumor est, isque jam sermone multorum et literis confirmatus, militem nostrum post longam oppugnationem tandem deditione cepisse Letam, et Gallos præsidiarios cum singulis vestimentis emisisse. De conditionibus multa sparguntur, sed adhuc nihil certi. Summa est nunc necessitudo inter Anglos et Scotos, non solum humana societate, sed etiam cœlesti fœdere sancita. Quod si illud etiam accedat, quod speramus quodque cupimus, de Critone et Glycerio[3], recte erit. Atque utinam ne illi id impediant, qui nec nobis nec illis bene volunt. Verum ista adhuc inchoata tantum sunt, et cruda quodammodo; post audiemus omnia clariora. Pamphilus nondum rediit. Datus est Critoni comes a Glycerio[3]. Ille, ut potest, scribit interdum ad me, et sperat fore, ut volumus. Quicquid est, Crito non erit in mora. Suecus exspectatur cum numerosa classe, princeps potens, et dives argenti, et in faciendo sumptu perliberalis. Sed habitat longe gentium; et per hiemem maria omnia coguntur frigore, ut neve accedere ad nos possit, neve ad se redire.

Gallicis istis tumultibus Deus aliquando imponat finem optabilem, et Guisianos furores et conscleratam nequitiam reprimat! Dei beneficio apud nos omnia tranquilla sunt, non tantum de religione, sed etiam de republica. Messis copiosa est: messores tantum desunt. Tamen, quia Gallus dicitur armare classem, et nescio quas irruptiones minitari, ne quid nobis periculi, ut fit, creetur ex improviso, delectus facimus

[2] [According to Hume, the capitulation took place July 5, 1560.]
[3] [See the names explained supra, p. 136.]

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passim, et militem, si quid opus erit, habemus in procinctu. Ego tamen, ut nunc sunt tempora, vix puto illi tantum esse otii a re sua, ut nostra curare possit. Habes nostra. De Julio meo tuoque desino polliceri. Tantum veniat: novit viam. Nihil illi a me deerit. Imo quid ego illum jubeo venire solum? Exspectet potius paululum, et tecum veniat. Imo, quid exspectari jubeo? Jamdudum venisse oportuit. Vale, mi pater, vale. Dicam tibi, spero, aliquando coram et in os: Mi pater, salve.

Saluta meo nomine optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Frisium, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Wickium, D. Hermannum, si est apud te, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Nos omnes dissipati jam sumus in dispersionem gentium, ut quid alii fratres nostri faciant, nihil possim certo scribere. Esse tamen pie occupatos in promovendo evangelio, et tui vestrique omnium memores, nihil dubito. Iterum, mi pater, vale, et ora Deum, ut hanc lucem velit nobis esse perpetuam.

Tui nominis observantissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

Sarisberiæ, calendis Junii, 1560.

XXI.

Juellus Martyri.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. in Christo. Scripsi ad te ante non ita multos dies, si satis memini, calendis Junii, de universo statu nostrarum rerum, qui vel tum erat, cum scriberem, vel certe esse dicebatur. Nunc accipe ea, quæ et passim jactantur in vulgus, et hodierno die ad me ex aula perferuntur. De Scotia res confecta est. Galli præsidiarii, quos noster miles longa lentaque obsidione, et quasi per ludum oppugnaverat, postremo vi maloque coacti sese nostris dediderunt. Habita a nostris ratio inprimis est, ne quid per insolentiam et rabiem militum nimium crudeliter factum videretur. Itaque, præterquam quod velitationes illæ, quæ subinde, ut fit, utrinque factæ sunt, non potuerunt esse incruentæ, quam minimum alioqui haustum est humani sanguinis. Gallus, cum pacem aliquam

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suis rebus quæreret, pollicitus est, se in posterum relicturum esse titulos et insignia regum Angliæ, quæ propter uxorem Scotam, proneptin Henrici VIII. jam antea cum suis titulis et insignibus miscere cœperat, seque posthac veteribus tantum liliis et avitis titulis[4] contentum fore: regnum Scotiæ per duodecim viros[5], homines Scotos, administratum iri: si quid posthac vocetur in quæstionem, vel de religione, vel de republica, ejus rei judicium fore penes totius regni parlamentum: centum tantum et viginti milites Gallos relictum iri in tota Scotia, non qui illi regno creent periculum, sed qui acceptæ cladis et dedecoris testes esse possint, si quis in posterum ea de re forte dubitet: eos velle duodecim virorum senatui, si quid imperent, dicto audientes esse. His conditionibus utrinque discessum est. Letha præsidium solo æquata est a nostro milite. Galli impositi sunt in classem, ut abducerentur domum, mœsti et afflicti, vix cum singulis vestimentis. Ista ego, mi pater, omnia non dubito ad vos jam antea vel nunciis vel rumoribus perlata esse. Tamen ea non dubito tibi etiam nunc, cum a me narrantur, nec injucunda nec grata[6] fore.

Dux Holsatiæ[7] abiit domum magnifice acceptus a nostris, egregie donatus a regina, cooptatus in ordinem Garterium, ornatus aurea et gemmata periscelide: Καλλιπέδης[8] Sueciæ semper venire dicitur, atque etiam nunc esse in itinere, et velle propediem appellere. Tamen ille, quod sciam, pedem unum non promovet. Hic nunc omnes pacem, nescio quam, fore prædicant, et de constituenda religione exspectari concilium orbis terrarum publicum. At ego nec pacem his temporibus convenire posse arbitror, nec coire concilium.

Habes, mi pater, quæ nunc apud nos dicuntur nova. Bene vale, et te cura: curabis animi dimidium mei. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gual-

[4] [See Robertson's Scotland, book iii.]

[5] [The council was to consist of twelve persons chosen out of twenty-four named by parliament; seven by the queen, five by the parliament. Ibid.]

[6] [Parker. ed. "ingrata."]

[7] [Sent by his uncle the king of Denmark to be his proxy as a suitor to the queen.]

[8] [The Park. ed. omits Καλλιπέδης (for the meaning of which, see Cicero Ep. Attic. XIII. 12. and Sueton. in Tiber. c. 38.), and reads "Suecus" for "Sueciæ." In the State Paper Office is a letter dated July 1560, containing orders for the king of Sweden's reception.]

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therum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Volphium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, D. Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Salisberiæ. Raptim.

JOANNES JUELLUS, ex animo tuus.

xvii. Jul. 1560.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti S. Literas in Schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo; Tiguri.

XXII.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Quid ego ad te hoc tempore scribam, mi pater, nescio. Nam et rerum novarum parum est, et temporis ad scribendum multo minus. Nunc enim accingor ad agendos conventus, et obeundam provinciam. Ille labor erit bimestris. Eram scripturus, nescio quid, ad te ante mensem, et jam non nihil etiam scripseram. Sed cum rumor hic de te parum secundus, nostris omnibus molestus, mihi autem inprimis ad audiendum peracerbus, passim spargeretur, isque non tantum populari fama, sed etiam literis D. Grendalli et archiepiscopi Cantuariensis confirmaretur, præ mœrore, mihi crede, atque animi ægritudine coactus sum desistere, atque abrumpere inchoata. Nunc autem, postquam fratres nostri Genevenses, qui ad nos nuper admodum redierunt, nuntiant, apud vos omnia ita esse, ut volumus, non possum mihi imperare, quin scribam aliquid ad te, etsi hercle nihil sit hoc tempore, quod scribam.

Ecclesia nostra nunc Dei beneficio tranquilla est. Nec mirum: nunc enim illi venti, qui antea fluctus concitabant, ne quid turbare possint, egregie ab Æolo conclusi sunt. Concionatores tantum nobis desunt. Illorum est enim magna et miserabilis inopia. Et scholæ desertæ prorsus sunt, ut, nisi Deus nos respiciat, nulla in posterum supplementa sperari possint. Concionatores tamen illi, qui sunt, qui pauci sunt, præsertim, qui aliquid possunt, a populo secundis auri-

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bus atque animis audiuntur. Invenimus primis temporibus Elizabethæ magnam et inauspicatam segetem Arianorum, Anabaptistarum, et aliarum pestium, qui nescio quo pacto, ut fungi noctu et in tenebris, ita illi in illa caligine et infausta nocte Mariani temporis excreverunt. Eos nunc audio, spero quidem certe, ad lucem melioris doctrinæ, tanquam noctuas ad aspectum solis, obticuisse, et prorsus jam nullos esse; aut si qui sunt, tamen ecclesiis nostris molesti non sunt.

Volatica illa doctrina ubiquitaria non potest apud nos consistere ullo modo; etsi non deerant ab initio, quibus ea res magnopere curæ fuerit[8]. In Gallorum ecclesia, quam habent nunc Londini, audio esse quosdam importunos homines et turbulentos, qui aperte incipiant *ἀρειανίζειν*. Deus nobis aliquando auferat illa lolia.

Regina, pacatis rebus, pollicetur se daturam nobis argentum purum putumque; itaque jam incipit omnem superiorum temporum adulterinam monetam revocare[9]. E Scotia nihil, præterquam quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, de expugnato præsidio, et rebus confectis ex sententia. Crito quid agat, nescio. Pamphilus nondum rediit. De Glycerio utinam—sed *ταῦτα ἐν τοῦ Θεοῦ γούνασι κεῖται*. Majus decanus Paulinus, designatus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, mortuus est. D. Hornus erit episcopus Vintoniensis. Cætera sunt eo loco, quo scripsi antea. Parkhurstum, Sandum, Samsonem, Leverum, cæterosque nostros minus pene nunc video quam tu. Ita prorsus disjecti sumus, non in dispersionem, sed, spero, ad collectionem gentium. Audio literas, et alia quædam ad me advecta esse e Germania, sed unde, aut a quibus nescio; suspicor tamen a te. Idcirco omnia nunc mihi longa sunt, dum rescisco, quid sit. Ego, nisi quod tu ita procul abes, cæteroqui recte valeo. Mi pater, vale; vale, potior pars cordis mei. Scriberem hoc tempore ad ornatissimum virum, D. Bullingerum, nisi excluderer negotiis. Ignoscat mihi in præsentia; posthac scribam prolixius, quicquid erit. Saluta, quæso, illum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Vickium, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium,

[8] [Bp. Jewel has treated of this subject in the 6th article of the Challenge, supra vol. ii. p. 383, as well as in the Defence of the Apology, iv. 319, and v. 156.]

[9] [In the State Paper Office are many letters and orders upon this subject.]

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D. Volphium, D. Frisium, quam potes officiosissime meo nomine. Ego illos omnes illorumque omnia amo in Domino. Julium nostrum nec scribere ad me, nec ad nos venire miror. Illi ego non minus cupio voloque, quam fratri meo. Si quid de fide mea dubitat, faciat periculum. Tamen illi quoque, et Juliæ, et inprimis vel potius ante omnes primos primasque optimæ illi mulieri, uxori tuæ, et Martyrillo, et D. Hermanno salutem dicito. Iterum, mi pater, vale. Salisberiæ, vi. Novembris 1560.

Tui nominis observantissimus

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

XXIII.

Juellus Simlero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. O mi Josia, quas ego nunc tibi agam gratias? Libellus[10] ille tuus, primum ita pie et docte scriptus, deinde a te ita eleganter et commode redditus, erat mihi utroque nomine gratissimus. Felices vos, quibus et facultas istiusmodi, et ingenium, et otium obtigit. Nos vero, qui ista non possumus[11], facere tamen id æquum est, quod putamus. Perge, mi Josia, hunc animum ita instructum, ita ornatum, quod facis, et jamdudum magna cum laude facis[12], dicare templo Dei.

De Julio nostro nihil erat opus, ut ita serio ad me scriberes. Ego enim illum novi, et ille me. Laudo tamen animum et pietatem tuam, qui homini amico ita ex animo consultum cupias. Illi ego non dubito a vobis prospectum iri. Silentium meum, fateor, mi Josia, longius erat, quam oportuit, quamque ego voluissem. Verum magnitudo negotiorum, quibus urgeor assidue, sæpe mihi calamum excutit de manibus. Etsi enim alia habeo omnia, vitam, vires, valetudinem,

[10] [This was a work of Bullinger's, in German, translated into Latin by Simler, and dedicated to bp. Jewel, under the title "Institutio eorum "qui propter Dominum nostrum "Jesum Christum de fide exami-"nantur," (printed at Zurich by Car. Froschnur, 1560, octavo.)]

[11] [How little did the writer of this letter imagine, that within the next ten years he would have to conduct the most important controversy of his times.]

[12] [This word is omitted in the Parker ed.]

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otium tamen ad scribendum vix unquam habeo. Vel hoc ipso tempore, quam sim occupatus, Julius ipse, nisi vellet esse testis, utinam esset sine testibus. Jamjam proficiscor Londino domum. Jamdudum equus me exspectat. Quare nova nostra omnia, et statum universarum nostrarum rerum committo Julio. Quicquid dicet, quamvis nonnihil affingat de suo, ut solent, qui peregre redeunt, tamen tu pro tua humanitate putare debes, illum esse virum bonum. Quodsi ille ita se geret, non errabis. Vale, mi Josia; et uxorem tuam, et D. Hermannum, Frisium optimum et cultissimum juvenem saluta meo nomine, et hoc munusculum εἰς τὸ νῦν boni consule. Vale. Londini. Raptim.

iv. Maii 1561. Tuus ex animo

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo et amicissimo viro, D. Josiæ Simlero, profitenti sacras literas in ecclesia Tigurina, amico veteri et singulari.

XXIV.[13]

Petrus Martyr Juello.

[Zur. Coll.]

Qui diu inter se litigarunt, criticos et Palæmonas tandem quærunt, qui litem eorum, sententiam ferendo, post longam contentionem finiant. Nunc hi duo, nimirum Pantachus et Orothetes de gravissima quæstione diu certarunt: mihi autem id negotii datum est, ut illis de judice providerem, judice sane incorrupto, et qui causam, de qua nunc altercatum est, probe teneret. Illico tu, reverende præsul, in mentem venisti, ut apud quem gratia et odium in judicando nihil valeant. Cumque scientia divinarum et humanarum rerum plurimum polleas, ignorantia mentem tuam obscurare minime potest.

[13] [This letter is printed, partly as relating to the important subject of the Ubiquitarian controversy, then raging in Germany, and partly as evidence of the high estimation of Bp. Jewel's character entertained by Peter Martyr. It explains also a passage in Jewel's answer in his letter of Feb. 7, 1562, infra. For an account of the dialogue, see Le Bas Life of Jewel, p. 127.]

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Quare mihi visum est illos ad examen acerrimi judicii tui mittere: quod etiam eo libentius facio, quia rem, quæ in controversia est, egregie cognitam habes. Habuerunt ethnici pro summis judicibus Æacum, Minoem, et Rhadamanthum. Sed cum illos tres in te uno quoad intelligentiæ acumen ac justitiam habeamus, non debui alium judicem iis duobus inter se contendentibus extra te quærere, cum potissimum in judicando alia regula quam verbo Dei uti non consueveris. Proinde te rogo, per eam humanitatem, qua præditus es, ut inter eos de toto negotio judicare minime detrectes. Neque hoc par litigantium (si modo sapiat) ægre feret abs te tali tantoque viro judicari. Verum ne quid te lateat, ego quæ ultro citroque dicta sunt, quantum potui bona fide consignavi. Tuum igitur erit, antistes incomparabilis, ea quæ scripsi perlegere, sed cum vacaverit. Quod idcirco scribo, quia tuæ, cum sacræ, tum magnæ occupationes me non fugiunt, quas etiam interpellare, nil aliud esse probe novi, quam ecclesiæ Christi dare magnum graveque damnum.

Ut vero contendentium argumenta et rationes facilius pernoscas, nec tibi multum in judicando temporis impendendum sit, rem tam explicatam et apertam feci, ut uno intuitu facile possis totam seriem disputationis comprehendere. Olim excusavit Aristoteles apud Alexandrum, quod sua edidisset *ἀκροαματικὰ*, dicendo: Edidi et non edidi, quod tantum illi ea essent intellecturi, qui docentem ipsum audivissent. Ad hunc vero modum propterea scripsit, ut regem consolaretur, qui ea noluisset invulgari. Ego autem quanta potui diligentia curavi, ut meus hic dialogus clarus et perspicuus evaderet. Nam satius visum est lectorem aliquanto diutius occupare, quam illum obscura brevitate male torquere. Neque possum in rebus, quæ magni momenti sunt, Neoptolemo Enniano assentiri, qui ajebat, esse quidem philosophandum, sed paucis: omnino autem minime placere: quia involutæ quæstiones vel non sunt attingendæ, vel penitus explicandæ. Id vero brevi et concisa oratione minime possumus consequi. Quare brevitati sic studendum semper existimavi, ut nullum damnum fiat intelligentiæ, cui tenebræ nonnunquam obducuntur, quod ea quæ difficilia sunt, breviter ac strictim dicere conemur. Unde Augustinus refert Alypium aliquando vehementer fuisse stomachatum, cum gravis et difficilis proponeretur interro-

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gatio, una petendo, ut responso quam brevissimo tota res perspicue dilucidaretur, quod impossibile judicaret quæstiones obscuras evolvi posse, nisi oratione aperta: cui animadvertebat vix cum brevitate convenire.

Non potest ad hæc in hoc genere scripti brevitas retineri: quia non solum astruenda sunt nostra, sed rationes quoque adversariorum diluendæ. Errarunt utique vehementer ethnici, qui non modo Jovem colebant, sed etiam una multos Vejoves: illum quidem ut juvaret et opem ferret laborantibus, illos vero ne rebus humanis officerent. Perversum erat citra controversiam hoc eorum institutum, quia unicum omnino est numen, quod mortales et bonis innumerabilibus afficit, et idem summa justitia in scelera sontium animadvertit. Propterea id genus divini cultus recte ac jure a piis damnatur. Attamen in rebus agendis non est ab illa ratione veterum discedendum: quandoquidem vera, utilia, et recta oportet operam dare ut retineantur et conserventur: quæ vero sunt prava, incommoda, et falsa, reprimenda et tollenda sunt, ne officiant. Idque licet in omnibus rebus præstandum sit, in dissidiis attamen et certaminibus de religione omnium maxime. Ubi non solum dogmata sana pro viribus et docenda, et confirmanda sunt, verum etiam simul captiones, tendiculæ, atque argumenta sophistica ita eluenda, retundenda, et dissolvenda, ne simpliciores et minus attentos lædant. Id ego, quacunque ratione potui, sum conatus in hoc meo dialogo efficere. Idcirco non ea brevitate uti licuit, quam et ego adhibere voluissem, et lector sibi offerri desiderasset.

Deinde ut in iis legendis non offendereris, cum humano et mansueto sis animo, convicia, morsus acres, acerba dicta prorsus amovi. Quin ejus etiam nomen, in quem scribo, apponere nolui, quod eum potius emendatum et correctum velim, quam nominatim traduci, vel infamari: quandoquidem non hominis, sed erroris sum inimicus. Nec de veritate disputatio (quantum arbitror) personæ injuria est, cum qua disputatur. Id a me procul absit, ut cujusquam hominis existimationem, vel authoritatem elevare studuerim, cum hæc scriberem. Sed hoc unum, quacunque ratione potui, sum conatus, ut et Christi humanitatem ostenderem non esse ubique (quod sanum rectumque decretum orthodoxæ fidei minime a catholicis dubitatur), et una rationes adversarii ea qua valui

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diligentia confutarem, ne rudibus et imperitioribus fucum facerent. Quantum vero in hac scribendi ratione sim assequutus, aliorum, et cum primis tuum esto judicium, quem certo scio in judicando non esse cujusquam amore lapsurum.

Ad hæc vero conscribenda scito me nec libidine contendendi (a qua ut sim alienus ipse optime nosti, si quis alius), nec etiam temere sum incitatus. Primum fratres, et symmystæ sanctæ hujus ecclesiæ Tigurinæ me rogarunt etiam atque etiam, ut id facerem: quorum judicio et voluntati nil potui salva fide nostræ conjunctionis denegare: alioquin eis licuisset me conserta manu in jus vocare, ac promissum per momenta exigere. Accessit præterea quod ad me tua penultima epistola scribis, nonnullos etiam apud nos [*l.* vos [14]] esse, qui jam de ubiquitate cogitare incipiant. Sed adjecisti, quod me admodum recreavit, non esse verendum, ut isti regno et ecclesiæ tale dogma credendum unquam obtrudatur. O dictum bene! Certe me beasti. Hæ porro causæ sunt, cur hanc qualemcunque lucubrationem elaboraverim, tuoque voluerim amplissimo nomini *προσφωνῆσαι*. Non sane quo te aliquid novi docere statuerim, neque ut animum tuum ad me amandum allicerem. Nam cætera capita et dogmata nostræ religionis, et hoc una cum eis apprime tenes, et me (quæ tua bonitas est) jam a compluribus annis charitate incredibili, atque singulari prosequutus es. Verum in hac dedicatione id maxime spectavi, ut adversus *Μαρτυρομάστιγας*, quos numero haud paucos esse arbitror, (quemadmodum res humanæ sunt comparatæ) fortem, sapientem, et amicissimum patronum haberem, qui me ab obtrectatoribus, et malevolorum atro morsu indefesse, atque alacriter defenderet. Ipse vero ad hoc officium mihi præstandum non tantum eo impelleris amore, quo erga me afficeris, imo et eximia tua pietate, ac eruditione prope incredibili, quo duplici ornamenti genere, Dei favore, mirum in modum polles. Nec sane, dum ita de te judico, quicquam vereor, ne in me illud Theophrasti quadret: *Τυφλὸν τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον*. Proinde ob excellentem doctrinam poteris nullo negotio tam crassum errorem tua illa quam acerrima *συνέσει* coarguere.

Deinde pro tua sanctissima pietate, quæ summo studio puri

[14] [That this is the true reading, is shewn by referring to p. 151. paragr. 2.]

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cultus divini quam ardentissime flagrat, hæc dogmata parum sincera, ne quid gravius dicam, in vestris ecclesiis non patieris libere vagari, seu errare, nedum altius radices agere. Quodque de te sentio, idem quoque persuasissimum habeo de reliquis collegis ac fratribus tuis, qui modo in Anglia, patria vere dilectissima Deo, episcopos agunt: quos Dei beneficio coguntur omnes, velint nolint, confiteri, cum religione, tum doctrina insigniter esse ornatos. Verum tu, reverende præsul, cum inter alios ut fulgentissimum sidus resplendeas, quæso da operam quam maxime, ut apud vos cœnæ sacræ dogma purum et sarctatectum [15] conservetur. Eo quippe infuscato, violato, et corrupto, nosti quot horrenda monstra, et fœdissima portenta ecclesiam Filii Dei pervaserint, atque misere vastarint. Nec aliud (quemadmodum te non latet) hæc sibi nova quærit ubiquitas, quam ut, fucatis quibusdam rationibus et argumentis, imprudentibus persuadeat, corpus et sanguinem Domini pani et vino cœnæ sacræ (ut loquuntur) vere, realiter, corporaliter, substantialiter, modo cœlesti, arcano, ineffabili adesse. Nam si Christi natura humana ubique præsens adesse constabiliatur, quis obsecro tergiversationi relinquetur locus, quo minus ea, de quibus agitur, atque inter nos contenditur, in pane atque in vino adesse præsentia confiteamur? Omnes profecto, quotquot Christum pure ac sana fide colimus, niti manibus pedibusque oportet, ut vinea Domini a squalore, spinis, tribulis, et vepribus tandem aliquando evadat purgatissima, quo justum, dulcem, uberemque fructum Hero suo queat producere. Sed tamen episcoporum, pastorum, atque doctorum id videtur esse opus magis proprium, ac legitimum. Quare te necesse est una cum aliis qui divina sorte navim eandem ecclesiæ gubernatis ac regitis, advigilare, ne Christi hæreditas novo aliquo errorum genere subinde vitietur. Diabolus nil magis horret, quam ut sanctum evangelium Filii Dei pure casteque in ecclesia prædicetur. Ideo in cœtibus reformatis id maximopere dat operam, aperte inquam, ac per insidias, ut vera falsis permisceantur, et mendacia subdolo melle circumlinens obtrudit Christi fidelibus nova et absurdissima dogmata credenda et profitenda, ut illos hostibus juratis, nimirum papistis, et prudentibus hominibus ridiculos et contemnendos propinet.

[15] [Sic in MS.: the more correct phrase is "sartum tectum."]

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Equidem ut officio meo non deessem, hac in re quod potui effeci. Agnoscens autem virium mearum infirmitatem, video me tibi eam tradere affectam, non absolutam. Proinde tuum erit eam perfectam et omnibus numeris plenam reddere. Quod facies ea supplendo et addendo, quæ a me præterita esse animadverteris.

Nec tantum putes a divinis literis nos moneri, ut Domini vineam sedulo colamus, verum etiam (ut non latere te credo) ethnicorum sapienti exemplo ad id incitamur. Nam M. Cato scriptor vetustissimus testatus est, et quidem crebro (ut Aulus Gellius refert libro 12. Noctium Atticarum cap. 12.) si quis agrum suum passus fuisset sordescere, illum parum diligenter curando, aratione ac repurgatione prætermissa, vel arborem suam, vineamve incultam reliquisset, is minime abibat absque pœna, sed a censoribus ærarius fiebat. Quin et a Romanis equitibus iidem censores equos publicos auferebant, si eos deprehendissent strigosos, graciles, macilentos, et parum nitidos, et loco atque ordine equestri movebant, quos incuriæ, vel (ut ille scribit) impolitiæ notassent. Hoc scribo, ut me præter officium non fecisse ostendam, hoc dialogo conscribendo, quo ecclesia purgatior ab hujusmodi sordibus evadat, et reddatur nitidior: nec te ab episcopali functione discessurum, si pro viribus curaveris, ut peregrinæ et falsæ hujusmodi sententiæ ab ovili Christi repellantur. Id vero abs te duplici ratione commode fiet, et meum libellum (si tamen id meretur) ab æmulis tuendo, et in eo minus idoneis meliora et firmiora substituendo.

Jam quid abs te velim, reverende ac doctissime vir, paucis exposui. Nunc id restaret, ut (quemadmodum fieri solet libris dedicandis) ex tuis virtutibus te plurimum toti orbi Christiano commendarem et celebrarem: ad quam rem exsequendam si animum appellerem, oratio ipsa me prius deficeret, quam materia. Nam fortasse alius non reperietur, qui verius et certius quam ego de tuis virtutibus, ac integra et incorrupta vita queat dicere, ut qui non audita, vel aliunde relata proderem, sed quæ ipse oculatus et præsens testis viderim, ac sim expertus. Mitto acumen ingenii, eloquentiam, studia, labores, certamina religionis ergo, modestiam, atque temperantiam: quibus olim, cum essem Oxonii, te cognovi egregie ornatum. Nam cum ibi una minime viveremus, permulti suspicari possent, me vel falsum, vel quoquo modo

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hallucinatum. Quia homines astuti dant interdum foris multiplicia virtutum specimina, cum intus madeant sceleribus intercutibus. At postea, cum ex Anglia in Germaniam commigrasses, et mecum plures annos cum sub eodem tecto, tum eadem vixeris mensa, eorundemque suavissimorum colloquiorum, exercitationum, et studiorum participes quotidie fuerimus, ego unus omnium opinor me posse de tua sincera fide, moribus honestissimis, animo simplici, candidissimo pectore, citra ullum errorem, judicare. Taceo amœnum ingenium, doctrinam interiorem, grave sanumque judicium, quæ mihi experto et *αὐτόπτῃ* fuerunt compertissima. Cæterum si velim nunc harum pulcherrimarum rerum explicationem ingredi, atque aperte quidnam de te sentiam patefacere, non solum transgrediar epistolæ modum, sed etiam tuas aures, quæ semper fuerunt a propriis laudibus alienissimæ, vehementer offendam. Deinde minus dicam quam ipsa res exigat, et actum agam, cum ipse bene docendo, recte vivendo, et functionem tibi commissam integerrime obeundo, illustrior et clarior evadas, quam possis hominum scriptis commendari et celebrari. Unde jam te ad id vel pervenisse arbitror, vel parum abesse, quod Hieronymus ad Pammachium in prologo 2. libri in Hoseam refert ex Livio de M. Catone, Cujus gloriæ, ait, neque profuit quisquam laudando, neque vituperando quisquam nocuit, cum utrunque summis præditi ingeniis fecerint. Significat enim M. Ciceronem et C. Cæsarem, quorum alter laudes, alter vituperationes ejus viri scripsit. Qua re in præsentia decrevi a conatu impossibili, vano, atque tibi parum grato desistere.

Te nihilominus ad extremum rogabo, dulce decus meum, et ecclesiæ Christi columen, ac splendidissimum ornamentum, ut meum hoc munusculum non modo boni consulas, verum etiam ut grato animo accipias. Quod vero complura quæ de ista causa dici potuissent omiserim, scito propterea factum, quod mei Pantachi sim coactus pertexere stamina, subtegmina, et licia. Verum quispiam alius fortasse me sequetur, qui non tantum eâ quæ dixi repetet, et confirmabit, verum et aliquid nervosius et firmius adjiciet, quo hæc nova pestis facilius exstinguatur. Deinde in hoc argumento feliciter admodum versatus est vir clarissimus Heinrychius Bullingerus, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ minister præcipuus, pater, et frater in

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Christo colendissimus. Ideo ne actum agerem, oportuit me, quæ ab eo satis dilucide sunt exposita, vel præterire, vel admodum leviter attingere. Ac licuisset profecto supersedere labore, nisi postquam ille suum libellum " De mansionibus cœlestibus" invulgavit, is fuisset editus, cui sum rogatus (ut ab initio dixi), et quidem vehementer, ut responderem. Unum postremo requiro, idque jure nostræ jam inveteratæ amicitiæ peto etiam atque etiam, ut precibus tuis impetres mihi apud cœlestem Patrem vocationis meæ salutarem et uberem fructum, ut non incassum cucurrerim, sed ecclesiæ Christi ædificationem pro modo pecuniæ mihi a Domino creditæ promoveam. Vale, antistes reverende. Deus te incolumem isti regno et ecclesiæ quam diutissime servet. Datum Tiguri, 15 Augusti, 1561.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino, D. Joanni Juello, Anglo, Dei gratia Sarisburgensi Episcopo, domino suo colendiss., D. Petrus Martyr Vermilius divinarum literarum professor in schola Tigurina, Salutem, id est in Christo supremam felicitatem, dicit.

XXV.

Bishop Jewel to .....[14].

[MSS. C.C.C.C. et ap. Strype, P. III. 55.]

After my hearty commendations. Whereas ye desire to understand my poor advice touching certain words in the 18th chapter of Leviticus, by which words you think it not unlawful

[14] [This letter evidently arose out of the case of the earl of Westmoreland, who had married two sisters successively. In the State Paper Office is a curious letter from queen Elizabeth to the archbishop of York, expressing her surprise that " the earl of Westmoreland is permitted to keep the sister of his former wife as his wife, such being contrary to the law of God." The letter is dated August 17, 1561. On September 20, the earl writes to Cecil, to complain that he had been called into court by the archbishop for this offence. By the kindness of the dean of Bristol, the Editor is enabled to print from an exact transcript of the original MS. (CV. 10.) in C.C.C.C. library.]

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for a man to marry successively his own wife's sister, I would ye had rather taken in hand some other matter to defend. For it is not the best way, in my judgment, neither in these troublesome and doubtful times, to call more matter in doubt without just cause, nor in this intemperance and licence[15] of life, to open any gate to the breach of laws. I reckon the words in Leviticus, whereupon you ground, are these, "Uxorem, et sororem suam ad lacessendam eam, ne ducas, ut retegas turpitudinem ejus, illa adhuc vivente." Which words I know have been diversely construed by divers men, and in some men's judgments seem to sound of your side. Pellican, Paulus Phagius, and Lyra, with certain others, think such marriage to be lawful; and that God forbade the having of two sisters in matrimony at one time, both of them being together alive. And that for the spiteful and continual contention and jealousy which must needs grow betwixt them, as appeared in the example of Jacob with his two wives, Rachel and Leah. And therefore some think the Jews continue such marriage among them, as lawful, until this day.

All these things hitherto make on your side; and the same would not greatly mislike me, saving that I find the judgments of the best learned men now living, and the continual practice of all ages, and in manner very public honesty, to the contrary. There be otherwise women enough to have choice of, so that no man can justly say, that necessity drave him to marry her, whom, in our manner of speech, he sometime[16] called sister.

The practice of former times appeareth by the Canons; whereas it is decreed, that only "carnalis copula cum puella septem annorum dirimit matrimonium cum ejus puellæ sorore postea secutum." But I know you make small stay upon the Canons, and sooner rest yourself upon these words in the text, "illa adhuc vivente." And thereof[17] thus you ground your reason: a man may not marry his wife's sister, while she is alive; *ergo*, he may marry her after she is dead.

This reason, "a negativis," is very weak, and maketh no more proof in logic, than this doth, "Corvus non est reversus ad arcam, donec exsiccatæ essent[18] aquæ;" *ergo*, he is returned

[15] [Strype, "science."] [16] [Strype, "first."] [17] [Strype, "therefore."] [18] [Strype, "erant."]

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again, after the waters were dried up. Or, "Joseph non cognovit eam, donec peperisset filium suum primogenitum;" *ergo*, Joseph knew her after she was delivered of her first begotten child: or such other like.

Yet will you say, although this manner of reason be weak, and the words make little for you, yet this far the reason is good enough: for these words make not against you. Which thing notwithstanding I might grant, yet will not this reason follow on[19] the other side: there are no express words in the Levitical law, whereby I am forbidden to marry my wife's sister; *ergo*, by the Levitical law such marriage is to be accounted lawful. For notwithstanding the statute in that case makes relation unto the 18th chapter of Leviticus as unto a place, whereunto the degrees of consanguinity and affinity are touched most at large; yet you must remember, that certain degrees are there left out untouched: within which nevertheless it was never thought lawful for man to marry. For example, there is nothing provided there by express words, but that a man may marry his own grandmother, or his grandfather's second wife, or the wife of his uncle, by the[20] mother's side. No, there is no[21] express prohibition in all this chapter, but that a man may marry his own daughter. Yet will no man say, that any of these degrees may join together in lawful marriage[22].

Wherefore we must needs think, that God in that chapter hath specially and namely forbidden certain degrees; not as leaving all marriage lawful which he had not there expressly forbidden, but that thereby, as by infallible precedents, we might be able to rule the rest. As when God saith, No man shall marry his mother, we understand, that under the name of "mother" is contained both the grandmother, and the grandfather's wife, and that such marriage is forbidden. And when God commandeth, that no man shall marry the wife of his uncle by the[23] father's side, we doubt not but in the same is included the wife of the uncle by the mother's side. Thus, you see God himself would have us to expound one degree by another.

So likewise in this case, albeit I be not forbidden by plain

[19] [Strype, "of."] [20] [Strype, "his."] [21] [Strype, "No, nor is there any."] [22] [This sentence is omitted by Strype.] [23] [Strype, "his."]

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words to marry my wife's sister, yet am I forbidden so to do by other words, which by exposition are plain enough. For when God commandeth me I shall not marry my brother's wife, it followeth directly by the same, that he forbiddeth me to marry my wife's sister. For between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like "analogy" or proportion, which, in my judgment, in this case and other such like ought to be taken for a rule. And therefore the rabbins of the Jews have expressly forbidden divers degrees by this rule, which God by plain words forbade not.

And this is one part of the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, that he will take upon him to rule God's commandments at his pleasure; and by his dispensation to make that lawful in one man for the time, which God hath plainly forbidden as unlawful in all men for ever. He hath dispensed with a man to marry his own brother's wife, as you know. He hath dispensed with the brother to marry *his own natural sister*, as ye find in "*Summa Angelica*," in these words "Papa." And what marvel? He would be omnipotent, and saith he may dispense "contr ajus Divinum," as you may see 16. q. 1. "Quicunque: in Glossa [24]."

But thus, by the way, you have my mind touching your demand, and I doubt not but, all things well considered, the same mind will be your mind.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

Thus fare you heartily well.

From Sarum, Calend. Nov. 1561.

XXVI.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll. et Burnet Ref. vol. iii. part 2. p. 400, No. 65.]

Salutem plurimam in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, mi pater, non solum quod essent a te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt, gratissima, verum etiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia religionis luculentissime describerent; quodque ego me, cum eas legerem, et te ita

[23] [See these and several other cases of papal dispensation, supra vol. v. p. 268, 269.]

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prope abesse scirem[15], propius etiam aliquanto te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur, tamen et certiores, et multo etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod a te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quod scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle mutationem in religione aliquam fieri, non tam studio et amore pietatis, quam quod papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodque non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri, quicquid est, quacunque causa ista fiant, modo prædicetur[16] Christus εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multum et evangelium promoverit, et adversarios afflixerit. Quod autem scribis, Interim quoddam a quibusdam, et farraginem religionis quæri, Deus id avertat. Scio omnes in republica magnas mutationes odiosas, et graves esse, et multa sæpe a principibus temporis causa tolerari. Atque illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc vero, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utque aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λινοστολίᾳ obtinere potuissemus: nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus a doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil hic est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt. De Orothete autem tuo[17] an ego me tibi dicam agere gratias? Equidem non dubito, quin ipse ille, quem notas, si sapit, se multum tibi debere putet. Sed fortasse colliget animos, et patrocinabitur suo Pantacho, et sese parabit ad respondendum, et teque, tuumque Palæmonem[18] repudiabit. Laudes illas, quas tu mihi ita cumulate

[15] [The Parker editor has shewn, that this alludes to Peter Martyr's presence at the conference of Poissy. It appears by a letter of the archbishop's to Cecil, in the State Paper Office, Aug. 11, 1561, that the archbishop suggested the expediency of having either Peter Martyr or Calvin, or both, to attend at the conference: and the bishop of London, in another letter, bearing the same date, expresses his concurrence with respect to Peter Martyr. In the same collection there is a letter dated Oct. 29, 1561, from N. Gallasius to the bishop of London, respecting the conference, Peter Martyr, &c.]

[16] [Parker ed. "prædicatur."]

[17] [See the letter No. 24, supra. This passage is omitted by Burnet.]

[18] [In the Dialogue Palæmon means bishop Jewel as the arbiter between the contending parties.]

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tribuis, non agnosco. Eas tuas potius esse scio, et tibi uni proprie convenire. Tamen, ut ait ille, jucundum est abs te laudari, mi pater, laudato viro. Erat illud non tam judicii testimonium, quam amoris erga me tui: cui ego, etsi non aliis rebus, tamen amore certe respondebo.

Apud nos de religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quodsi leges æque nunc vigerent, atque olim sub Henrico, facile succumberent. Est genus hominum contumax et indomitum. Ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam de mutata religione et discessione ab ecclesia Romana. Eum ego librum, etsi dignus non est, qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea fere omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur. Tanta est typographorum nostrorum negligentia. Regina nostra prorsus decrevit nolle mittere ad concilium, quod an ullum aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certe si uspiam aut ullum est, perarcanum et valde obscurum est [19]. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare causas, quibus inducti ad concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis congressionibus et colloquiis nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis ad propagandum evangelium.

Regina nostra magno nostro cum dolore innupta manet, neque adhuc, quid velit, sciri potest. Tametsi quo suspiciones nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suevus [*al.* Suecus] diuturnus procus, et valde assiduus, nuper admodum dimissus est. Ille, accepta repulsa, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam, ut, cum apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in vicinia.

Est mulier quædam nobilis, domina Margaretha, neptis Henrici octavi, mulier supra modum infensa religioni, supra etiam rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem [20], plus minus octodecim annos natum summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus mulieris maritus Leonesius Scotus proximis istis diebus conjectus est in turrim. Filium aiunt vel able-

[19] [Supra, vol. viii. p. 76, the same words occur in the letter to Scipio; the design of writing which is intimated in the next sentence.]

[20] [This was lord Darnley, son of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret (sister of Henry VIII.) by her second marriage.]

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gatum esse a matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo ut solet fieri, sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: potest inter illos aliquid convenire de nuptiis[21]. Quicquid est, credibile est, papistas aliquid moliri. Sperant enim adhuc, nescio quid, non minus quam Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius pontificis[22] hæret adhuc in Flandria. Nondum enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tuto veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquilanus legatus Philippi, astutus et callidus veterator, et factus ad insidias, satagit, quantum potest, ejus causa; saltem ut audiatur: ne tam procul frustra venerit. Sperat enim uno colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri. Regina Elizabetha omnem nostram monetam auream argenteamque ad pristinam probitatem restituit, et puram putamque reddidit: opus plane regium, quodque tu mireris tam brevi tempore potuisse fieri[23]. Est puella quædam nobilis, domina Catherina[24], ducis Suffolchiensis filia, ex sanguine regio, eoque nominatim scripta ab Henrico octavo in testamento, ut, si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex ea comes Herfordiensis juvenis ducis Somersetensis filius suscepit filium, ut multi putant ex stupro, ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis: se enim clam inter se contraxisse, et advocato sacrificulo[25], et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse nuptias. Ea res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sunt veræ nuptiæ, puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem regni. O nos miseros, qui scire non possumus, sub quo domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diu vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi Petre[26], ora Deum, ut rempublicam nostram et ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi pater, mi pater, vale: vale, dulce decus meum.

Saluta meo nomine uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Wickium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium,

[21] [That is, she was the widow of Francis II. king of France.]

[22] [Martinengo. In the State Paper Office is a letter from the bishop of Aquila to Cecil, in behalf of abbot Martinengo being received by the queen, dated May 1561: and this is followed by a minute of the council at Greenwich refusing it.]

[23] [This sentence is printed as a postscript by Burnet, and in the Parker edition.]

[24] [Younger sister of lady Jane Grey. See Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. ii. p. 272—290, referred to by the editor for the Parker society.]

[25] [Burnet, "sacrificatore."]

[26] [Burnet, "pater."]

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Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Salisberiæ, vii. Februarii, 1562. Ex Anglia.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

XXVII.

Joannes Juellus ad Henr. Bullingerum.

[Zur. Coll.]

Salutem plurimam. Vix quicquam nunc superest, clarissime vir et domine in Christo colendissime, quod ad te scribam. Omnia enim, quæ opus erant, quæque scribenti occurrebant, perscripsi diligenter ad D. Petrum Martyrem; tamen quicquid est, pro observantia et amore erga te meo, non possum te insalutatum dimittere, saltem ut intelligas, me vivere, et pro tuis maximis erga me plurimisque meritis memorem esse tui. Parkhurstum, Sandum, Leverum, Elmerum, Samsonum biennium jam totum non vidi, nec illi me; tamen non[27] dubito, illos omnes erga te, tuosque, vestrosque adeo omnes ea esse voluntate, qua debent.

Ex Scotia nihil ad nos adfertur novi, nisi religionem ibi et secundis animis recipi, et constanter defendi, et in singulos dies latius propagari. Reginam tamen Scotiæ missam suam adhuc aiunt retinere. Deus illi, spero, aliquando aperiet oculos; est enim alioqui, uti dicitur, mulier non mala; utinam prorsus exuerit omnes spiritus, atque animos Lotharingicos! Apud nos omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi quidam pauci, qui superioribus istis temporibus Marianis insanierunt[28], non possunt adhuc tam brevi tempore satis verecunde redire ad sanitatem; itaque asservantur in turri, ne contagione sua inficiant alios. Papa clam palamque molitur, quantum potest. Ante quatuordecim menses ad reginam Elizabetham misit nuntium. Is quoniam nondum etiam recipi potest in Angliam, hæret adhuc in Flandria. Sperant adhuc aliquid posse effici; nondum omnes ineptiarum suarum radices evulsas esse; esse adhuc aliquos, quos non dubitent esse suarum partium. Sed quid ego ista? Ea enim omnia ad D. Petrum, ut dixi, scripsi fusius. D. Joannem Schneider juvenem illum vestrum Tigu-

[27] [Park. ed. "nihil."] [28] [Park. ed. "insani erant."]

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rinum, ex quo Julius noster discessit ex Anglia, nunquam vidi. Nec mirum. Longe enim gentium absumus. Tamen illum ante aliquot menses audivi satis commode agere. Quod si quid opus erit, et ego ejus rationes scire potero, dabo diligenter operam, ne quid illi a me desit. Id ego et humanitati tuæ, et Tigurinæ civitati debeo, et me debere profiteor. Non nihil miror Burcherum nostrum ad nos ante hoc tempus non venisse; scripsit enim se venturum, et ex literis videbatur esse in itinere. Ego illi valde cupio, et tuæ dominationi ejus nomine ago gratias.

Deus vos omnes, et te, mi pater, inprimis, et ecclesiam rempublicamque vestram conservet incolumem. Et si quis est, qui vobis male velit, det illi breve vivere, et parum posse. Scriberem plura, si occurrerent plura digna, quæ tam procul scriberentur. Saluta optimam illam fœminam, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Josiam Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Wolphium, D. Wickium, D. Frisium, D. Henricum Bullingerum filium tuum, optimum juvenem. Etsi nullus nostrum est mecum, tamen ego te non dubito omnium illorum nomine salutare. Scio enim illos de tua dominatione, uti debent, quam honorificentissime cogitare. Vale, mi pater et domine colendissime, et si quid ego aut sum aut possum, id omne puta esse tuum. Salisberiæ ix. Febr. 1562. Ex Anglia.

Tuæ dominationi deditissimus
Joannes Juellus, Anglus.

XXVIII.

Ad Josiam Simlerum.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. P. in Christo. Quid ego nunc ad te scribam, mi Josia? nova enim omnia, quæ erant, imo etiam fortasse, quæ non erant, jam antea conjeci in eas literas, quas scripsi ad D. Bullingerum et ad D. Petrum Martyrem. Crambe autem, uti scis, bis cocta, mors est. Putidum autem esset vetera et obsoleta scribere. Nihil ergo ego ad te? Joannes ad Josiam? Juellus ad Simlerum? Amicissimus ad amicissimum? Scribam certe, saltem ut intelligas me vivere, et te tuosque omnes in oculis gerere: et nec spatia locorum, nec intervalla temporum

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mihi ex animo eximere potuisse εἴδωλα illa multo jucundissima Josietatis tuæ. Quod mihi de Julio tuo meoque agis gratias, ego tibi vicissim ejus ipsius causa ago gratias. Ego quidem Julio meo cupio et volo, quantumque possum pro mea exiguitate, polliceor, me illi velle commodare. Idque me illi et sua et multo maxime D. Petri causa debere, ingenue profiteor. Tibi vero, mi suavissime Josia, de omni tua humanitate quantum debeam, nihil dico. Hoc solum te scire velim, ex quo tempore te primum novi, me et fuisse semper, et esse, et semper fore tuum. Vale, mi carissime Josia atque optime, vale. Saluta uxorem tuam, ejusque sorores, et matrem, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualtherum, D. Lavaterum, D. Lupum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Vickium, D. Frisium. Iterum, mi Josia, vale. Salisberiæ x. Februarii 1562. Ex Anglia.

Tuus in Domino
JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

XXIX.

D. Joanni Juello, Episcopo Sarisburiensi, P. Martyr[29] *S. D.*

[Zur. Coll.]

Opera episcopi Londinensis, ampliss. præsul et domine quotidie mihi etiam atque etiam observande, allatum est exemplum tuæ Apologiæ pro Anglicana Ecclesia, quæ neque a me, neque a nostris antea fuerat visa. In tuis quidem postremis illam prodituram potius innuisti, quam significaveris[30]: sed tantum itineris hactenus conficere non potuit, ut prius ad nos quam circiter cal. Sextiles pervenerit. Hinc tu animo tuo metiaris, quantum damnum ob locorum distantiam subinde faciamus. Ea vero non tantum mihi, cui omnia tua probantur et mirifice placent, omnibus modis et numeris satisfecit, verum etiam Bullingero, ejusque filiis et generis, nec non Gualthero, et Wolphio, tam sapiens, mirabilis, et eloquens visa est, ut ejus laudandæ nullum modum faciant, nec arbitrantur hoc tempore quicquam perfectius editum fuisse.

[29] [This letter is prefixed to most of the later editions of the Apologia: but it seems most in accordance with the arrangement of the present edition of the Works to insert it here also in its chronological order.]

[30] [Supra, p. 165.]

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Hanc ingenio tuo felicitatem, hanc ædificationem ecclesiæ, hoc Angliæ decus vehementer gratulor, teque obtestor, ut quam ingressus es viam pergas tuis vestigiis premere. Etenim bonam licet habeamus causam, tamen pro hostium numero pauci sunt, qui eam tueantur; et illi jam ita videntur experrecti, ut bonitate stili, et argutis sophismatis multum se probent imperitæ multitudini. Loquor autem de Staphylis, Hosiis, et plerisque aliis hujus farinæ scriptoribus, qui hoc tempore mendaciorum papæ strenuos patronos agunt. Quare cum in Apologia tua illa doctissima et elegantissima tantum spei de te concitaveris, certo scias, omnes bonos et doctos jam sibi polliceri, veritatem evangelicam te vivo non esse ab hostibus impune lacessendam. Ego vero plurimum lætor, quod illum diem viderim, quo factus sis parens tam illustris et elegantis filii. Largiatur Deus cœlestis pater, pro sua bonitate, ut sobole non absimili frequenter augearis. [Circa August. 1562.]

XXX.

Juellus Bullingero.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 417. No. 73.]

S. P. in Christo. Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem literæ tuæ, scriptæ Tiguri ad quartum[30] diem Martii: quæ, quamvis essent *ὑπομεμψίμοιροι* et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantum, quod a te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixe requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego vero, mi pater et domine colendissime, etsi minus fortasse ad te sæpe scribo, quam velim, tamen, quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te literas, alteras Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim a Paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut fit[31], subsistant forte in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, et postremo, uti spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorifice, ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino.

De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset for-

[30] [Park. ed. "quintum."] [31] [Burnet, "ut sit."]

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tassis[32] putidum. Omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferuntur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisianus ut nescio qua spe moderandæ religionis, et recipiendæ confessionis Augustanæ moratus est principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello, ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse regis, cui illam, cum regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Interea id egit, ut neptis sua, regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, et munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret; velle se hac æstate honoris causa venire in Angliam, et æternum amicitiæ fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine[33]. Quid quæris? Putabant æstivis[34] colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis animos nostros abduci facile posse a strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea regina nostra cum subodorata esset rem omnem, et, quid ageretur, intelligeret, neque enim id erat adeo difficile, mutare consilium de profectione, a Guisianis paulatim alienari, et ad principem Condensem non obscure inclinare. Tulit id Guisianus indigne, consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliose legatum nostrum, proposuit edicta publice, reginam Angliæ insidias facere regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitasse. Ista regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sane debuit. Statim aperte agere, legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus, undecunque atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis, vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur, nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent! Facilius, et minori jactura sanguinis Christiani tota res posset transigi. Et regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam ad principes

[32] [Park. ed. "fortasse."]

[33] [This poem of Buchanan's (printed infra) was sent subsequently by bp. Jewel to Simler, in his letter of August 18, 1562. A copy of it will also be found in the State Paper Office, with an account of the arrangements proposed for the meeting at Northampton.]

[34] [Park. ed. "festivis."]

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Est[35] nunc in aula legatus a Guisiano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur, et impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus.

Res Scotiæ de religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto apud nos cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec sol, nec luna, nec hiems, nec ver, nec æstas, nec autumnus satis fecit officium suum. Ita affatim, et pæne sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra; infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis, alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus: alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales fere imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt e porcis, ex equabus, e vaccis, e gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen, ut non possimus multum conqueri[36].

Joannes Burcherus rediit ad nos nuper, valde, ut mihi videtur, afflictus et miserabilis. Ego illi pollicitus sum, quicquid possum: tametsi illum audio non nimium honeste discessisse Tiguro. Misi ad D. Martyrem x. Gallicos coronatos, quos tuo atque illius arbitratu insumi cupio in convivium publicum. Illud munusculum, qualecunque est, obsecro, ut boni consulatis, quodque facitis, ecclesias nostras in vestris precibus Domino commendetis. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Josiam, D. Gesnerum, D. Vuolphium, D. Zwinglium, D. Vuickium, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Guldebeccum meo nomine. Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiæ, xiv. Aug. 1562.

Tuus in Christo

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero, summo pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo; Tiguri.

[35] [Park. ed. and Burnet "et."]

[36] [In the edition of the Parker society, and in Burnet, the letter ends here.]

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XXXI.

Ad Petrum Martyrem.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te, et seorsim ad D. Bullingerum statim a Paschate. Eas spero jam pridem esse redditas. Nam de superioribus, quas misi Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, et curavi reddendas Froschovero juniori, quin ad te aliosque pervenerint, nihil dubito. Tamen D. Bullingerus videtur mihi in literis suis nescio quid de negligentia nostra conqueri. Ex eo tempore allatæ sunt a te ad me literæ datæ Tiguri ad quartum diem Martii: quæ quam mihi gratæ et jucundæ fuerint, tu potes facile pro mea erga te observantia et amore perpetuo judicare. Etsi enim ea, quæ scribebas, essent jam satis vetera et pæne obsoleta—literæ enim illæ tuæ vix ad me pervenire potuerunt ante xxvii. diem Junii, anhelantes jam et lassæ de via: tamen in illis videbar mihi te agnoscere, et audire vocem tuam, et suavissime tecum colloqui. Te incolumem et alacrem rediisse e Galliis, et integram corporis firmitatem et valetudinem retinere, pro eo, ac debeo, valde gaudeo.

Quod ad me scribebas, cum jam tum esses in Galliis, rem tibi videri spectare ad arma, neque alia ratione posse transigi, id nunc nimium vere re ipsa videmus accidisse. Dominus Deus Sabaoth exsurgat aliquando, et pessundet ac dissipet hostes suos; nostris autem fratribus, qui illum sancte colunt, addat animos. Dux Guisianus, hostis potens, et jam ætate atque usu rerum callidus, nihil tam ambire videtur, quam opinionem de se bonam. Itaque ante aliquot dies nuntii et literæ passim volitabant; addebantur munuscula quædam honoraria, et omnibus modis gratia et bonæ existimationis usura quærebatur. Sic scilicet sperabat, fucum hominibus simplicibus posse fieri. Quicquid est, apud nos non successit. Nos enim jam conscripsimus militem, armavimus classem, stamus in procinctu, ut, si quid opus erit, eamus subsidio. Adversarii omnes, quicunque sunt apud nos egregii aut alicujus notæ, jussi sunt conqueri [conquiri?] et asservari, ne quid noceant.

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Utinam vestri etiam principes et respublicæ aliquando expergefiant, et cogitent, causam esse communem; se quoque involvi posse, nisi caveant, ne nimium diu otiose spectare velint, quid agant alii. Res eo loco nunc est, ut cunctando nec restitui possit, nec retineri. Sed dii illi vestri selecti Tridentini quid? an repente obmutuerunt? O sanctos patres, et magna mundi lumina! Tanto tempore, septemdecim jam totis mensibus ne verbum quidem? Atqui sanctissimus jam dudum exspectarat ἀποθέωσιν, et fortasse ab illis putat sibi injuriam fieri. D. Balduinus scribit ad me, magnopere probari sibi nostram in mutanda religione moderationem, seque daturum operam (putat enim, se posse aliquid), ut similis ratio obtineat in regno Galliæ: ἀκρίβειαν autem illam sibi vestram et Genevensium non placere. Est in ea re, ut mihi quidem videtur, iniquior D. Calvino, nimium fortasse memor veteris simultatis. Petrus Alexander laborat Londini e podagra, bonus vir, et jam senio nonnihil debilitatus. Hermannus tuus est nunc apud me. Transmisit ad nos e Galliis, quod ibi videret, istis tumultibus, quibus antea non assueverat, studia sua impediri. O quoties nos inter nos de te, de D. Bullingero, de uxore tua, de tota familia, de universo Tiguro, quam suaviter et quanta cum voluptate colloquimur. Est mihi illius convictus jucundissimus. Est enim, ut scis, juvenis bonus, et perhumanus, et literarum bonarum admodum studiosus.

Res nostræ de religione recte habent. Papistæ obstinatiores nunc sunt quam unquam antea. Pendent scilicet ab eventu rerum Gallicarum. Nos viginti jam dies e Gallia nihil audimus.

Sunt alia quædam pauca, sed ea scribo prolixius ad D. Bullingerum, quem video literas nostras avidissime legere, et de illarum intermissione nullo meo merito mecum conqueri. Mitto ad te x. coronatos Gallicos, quos tuo et D. Bullingeri arbitratu insumi cupio in cœnam in vestro hypocausto publicam, ad quam de more ministri ecclesiarum, et juvenes studiosi, aliique, quos videbitur, convocentur. Mitto ad Julium meum coronatos Gallicos xx, quos, cum esset proxime in Anglia, pollicitus illi sum in annos singulos; alios etiam viii. coronatos, et nescio quos præterea batziones, hoc est, solidos Anglicos 50, quos vix tamen expressi ab Annæ socero.

Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta

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quæso optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Vuolphium, D. Zwinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Vuickium, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Franciscum, et humanissimum puerum Martyrillum meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, xiv. Aug. 1562.

Tuo nomini deditissimus,

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

XXXII.

Juellus Simlero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Hermannus[37] tuus nunc tandem, mi Josia, factus est meus, prorsus, inquam, et κτήσει et χρήσει meus. Quo pacto? inquies. Dicam. Alluvione. Appulit enim Sarisberiam ad viii. diem Julii, cum se e tumultibus Gallicis vix eripuisset. O quoties nos inter nos de toto statu reip. Tigurinæ, inprimis vero de Josia nostro colloquimur? Prorsus nunc fruor illis dulcissimis sermonibus, quos, ut verum fatear, tibi antea subinvidebam. Quodsi tu esses una, nihil posset esse dulcius, animo quidem meo nihil optabilius, modo ut podagram illam tuam relinquas domi. Crede mihi, mi Josia, etsi nobis dolori sunt esseque debent dolores tui, tamen ridemus[38] interdum, cum de te cogitamus, teque ante oculos nostros ita constituimus, hominem senem, vietum, incurvum, obstipo corpore, nitentem scipionibus, trahentem alterum pedem, et molliter ac delicate prementem terram. Miramur etiam nonnihil, quomodo te podagra capere potuerit, cum tu semper ita fueris juvenis impiger atque alacer, illa autem vetula ita ignava et deses.

Regina Scotiæ neptis ducis Guisiani proximis istis diebus, cum ambiret gratiam atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, misit ad eam adamantem, gemmam pulcherrimam et summi pretii, inclusam et fixam in aurea lamina, et commendatam blando et eleganti carmine. Illud ego carmen ad te mitto, ut intel-

[37] [Hermannus Folkerzheimer, of a noble family in Ost-Friesland. His home seems to have been Embden. See his letter to Simler, Zurich letters, (2d series,) p. 84, with an account of Jewel's mode of life.]

[38] [Parker ed. "videmus."]

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ligas[39], verum esse, quod olim dicere solebat Ludovicus, si bene memini, undecimus: " Qui nescit simulare, nescit regnare[40]."

Vale, mi Josia, vale. Saluta uxorem tuam, fœminam lectissimam, D. Gualterum, D. Volfium, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Wickium, D. Frisium, D. Guldebeckum, quam potes diligentissime meo nomine. D. Hermannus te salutat. Sarisberiæ. xviii. August. 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Josiæ Simlero, profitenti S. literas in schola Tigurina, viro doctissimo et amico suo longe carissimo.

[39] [This poem is published in Buchanan's works, page 434, ed. Edinb. 1677. The diamond was in the shape of a heart, and set in a ring. In the published copy, the 11th, 12th, and 13th lines begin with " Sic."

Gemma loquitur:

Non me materies facit superbam,
Quod ferro insuperabilis, quod igne;
Non candor macula carens; nitoris
Non lux perspicui; nec ars magistri,
Qui formam dedit hanc, datam loquaci
Circumvestiit eleganter auro;
Sed quod cor Dominæ meæ figura
Tam certa exprimo, pectore ut recluso
Cor si luminibus queat videri,
Cor non lumina certius viderent.
Sit constantia firma cordi utrique,
Sit candor macula carens. Nitoris
Sit lux perspicui, nihil doli intus
Celans: omnia denique æqua præter
Unam duritiem. Dein secundus
Hic sortis gradus est mihi faventis,
Talem Heroïda quod videre sperem,
Qualem spes mihi nulla erat videndi,
Antiqua domina semel relicta.
O si sors mihi faxit, utriusque ut
Hæc tam corda adamantina catena
Quam nec suspicio, æmulatiove,
Livorve, aut odium, aut senecta solvat.
Tam beatior omnibus lapillis,
Tam sum clarior omnibus lapillis,
Tam sum carior omnibus lapillis,
Quam sum durior omnibus lapillis.

Tetrastichon:

Hoc tibi quæ misit cor nil, quod posset, habebat
Carius esse sibi, gratius esse tibi;
Quod si forte tuum remiseris, illa putabit
Carius esse sibi, quam fuit ante tibi.]

[40] [Letter to Scipio, supra, p. 82.]

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XXXIII.

Ad Henr. Bullingerum.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. De D. Petro Martyre, etsi dolere nihil prodest, tamen, nescio quo pacto, dolor ipse jucundus est. Hei mihi, dignus quidem ille fuit, illa ingenii magnitudine, illa literarum multitudine, illa pietate, illis moribus, illa vita, qui nunquam e vita tolleretur. Sed hoc ego jam antea fore divinabam, ubi primum audissem, hominem id ætatis animum adjecisse ad nuptias. Deus Opt. Max. benigne respiciat ecclesiam suam, et illo demortuo suscitet[41] alios. Pauci estis, mi pater, pauci estis, quibus nunc rerum summa nititur: nam te semper numeravi inter primos. O utinam semper exsistant aliqui, quibus possitis hanc lampadem committere. Sed missa ista facio. Hercules vester Tubingensis[42], monstrorum fabricator, non domitor, otiose jam triumphat. In toto illo suo regno Ubiquitario tam amplis spatiis et regionibus miror si possit consistere. Si quid moliri velit in hominem mortuum, et ejus scripta possint ad nos perferri, nisi quis vestrum mihi velit antevertere, ego mearum partium esse puto, quantum negotia mea patientur, ut illi respondeam, si nihil aliud, saltem ut intelligi possit, Angliam et Helvetiam contra istos Ubiquitarios convenire.

Interitus Guisani Pharaonis, quem hodierno die pro explorato et certo accepimus[43], crede mihi, intimum mihi animum et pectus perculit. Ita erat repentinus, ita opportunus, ita faustus, ita omnem spem atque exspectationem nostram superabat[44]. Quid nunc animi putemus esse fratribus nostris, quos illa bestia jam cinxerat obsidione, quosque spe et cogitatione prope jam cruentis faucibus devorarat? Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Chattilio[45] nunc oppugnat arcem Ca-

[41] [Park. ed. "suscipiat."]

[42] [Brentius, or Brentzeen, was the inventor of the Ubiquitarian mode of explaining the presence of Christ in the eucharist. See Moreri.]

[43] [Park. ed. "accipimus."]

[44] [This murder was perpetrated in the neighbourhood of Orleans, by Jean de Poltrot, Sieur de Morey, Febr. 24, 1562. See a circumstantial report of it in Thuan. Hist. lib. 34.]

[45] [Admiral Coligny.]

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nensem, et crescit indies, et spes bona est, adversarios venturos ad conditiones nostras, et omnia ita futura, ut volumus. Regina nostra colligit militem e Germania, et dat stipendium, et nihil parcit sumptibus. Nos hoc tempore conventus agimus totius regni, et de religione secundis animis tractamus, deque republica, et de nervis bellorum, hoc est, de pecunia.

E Scotia nuntiantur recte omnia. Regina pæne sola et pertinaciam animi Guisianam, et missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Nostra regina superiori autumno laboravit e variolis satis cum periculo. Impatiens æstus et tædii se ipsam pæne perdiderat. Sed agimus Deo gratias, qui et illam periculo liberavit, et nos metu. Quid paterculi illi vestri Tridentini, et papa hydropicus parturiant, nihil audimus. Fortasse Spiritus Sanctus adesse non vult, aut fari non potest[46]. Quicquid est, tanto in conventu, tanta exspectatione nihil agi mirum est.

Ego post superioris æstatis atque hujus hiemis intemperiem, et aliquot dierum spasmos, et catarrhos, jam tandem incipio convalescere. Scripta D. P. Martyris ne intereant, non dubito tibi curæ fore. Magno illi viro constiterunt, et digna sunt, ut scis, quæ magni fiant.

Vale, vir ornatissime, et frater ac domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem[47] tuam, filios, nurus, D. Gualtherum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zvinglium, D. Wickium, D. Volphium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, meo nomine. Dominus te nobis diu servet incolumem et salvum.

Tuus in Christo frater, et

v. Mart. 1563. tuo nomini deditissimus

Jo. Juellus.

XXXIV.

Ad Josiam Simlerum.

[Zur. Coll.]

Scriberem ad te quoque, mi Josia, nisi me occupationes meæ impedirent. Verum nos, ut scias, hoc tempore conven-

[46] [Supra, vol. vi. p. 233.] [47] [Park. ed. suppl. "uxorem."]

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tus agimus, et de religione, de republica, de pace belloque deliberamus. Ego vero inter istos æstus etsi mei ipsius meminisse vix possum, tamen Josiæ mei oblivisci non possum: quem etsi commentantem, scribentem, legentemque[48] multis maximis de causis admiror, et veneror, et in oculis gero, tamen cum illum cogito senili gibbo nitentem scipionibus, trahentem alterum, aut utrumque pedem, diligenter circumspectantem vias, ne quid incurrat in digitos, molliter ac delicate prementem terram, et Chremetis in modum ægre et seniliter tussientem, crede mihi, risum tenere vix possum. Dicdum enim mihi, mi Josia, quid istud est senium[49]? vel quæ potius illa[50] est dissimulatio? Tantamne mutationem factam esse tam brevi tempore? Sed quicquid est, ego te puto hominem esse bonum, nec aliud in vultu, aliud in pede gerere. Hermannus meus tuusque mecum est. Utinam tu adesses una. Facile et podagras, et fascias, et baculos abjiceres. Vale, mi Josia.

Tuus in Christo

vii. Mart. 1563. Jo. Juellus.

XXXV.

Ad Josiam Simlerum[51].

[Zur. Coll.]

Semper amavi, doctissime Josia, humanitatem, suavitatem, amorem tuum. Quis enim non amet hominem hoc ingenio, hac comitate, istis literis, ita veteris amici memorem, ita denique amabilem? Verum cum ad amorem erga te meum nihil videretur addi posse, tu tamen tuo merito facis, ut quotidie videar ardere[52], ut, si amor maximus major esse posset, magis amem. Recepi a te eicona argenteam, et vitam atque obitum optimi illius senis Petri Martyris. In eicone quidem etsi multa egregie conveniant, tamen erat etiam aliquid, nescio quid, in quo artificis solertiam requirerem. Et quid mirum in illius hominis similitudine erratum esse, cujus equi-

[48] [Park. ed. omits "que."]
[49] [Simler was only 32.]
[50] [Park. ed. "ista."]
[51] [An exact copy of this letter is given in Humphrey's Life of Bp. Jewel, p. 239.]
[52] [Park. ed. "videre."]

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dem, cum omnia circumspicio, vix quicquam puto fuisse simile. Libellum autem tuum avidissime et summa cum voluptate perlegi. Videre enim mihi videbar illum ipsum senem, quocum antea suavissime vixeram, eum nescio quo pacto propius etiam et penitius videre, quam cum una cum illo viverem. Stancarum[53] autem obscurum et insolentem scurram, quem ego nunquam natum audieram, et argute, et pererudite, neque, uti spero, sine magno ecclesiæ commodo confutasti. Parcius ad te ista, mi Josia, de te præsertim. Auribus enim tuis dare non est nec amicitiæ nostræ, nec pudoris mei. Equidem libenter illa legi, ut soleo tua omnia. Erant enim scripta de rebus jejunis plenissime, de obscuris splendidissime. De omni tua ista humanitate agnosco, et fateor, atque etiam profiteor, me esse in ære tuo.

Ecclesia nostra Dei beneficio immunis est ab istis monstris[54]. Tantum res nobis est cum satellitibus quibusdam pontificis. Illi turbant, quantum possunt, in angulis, atque etiam hoc tempore impediunt, quominus ea possim pertexere contra Ubiquitarios, quæ cogitaveram; sed de ea re ad D. Bullingerum scripsi plenius. Si scripta D. Martyris edideris, et ecclesiæ consulueris, et multorum bonorum exspectationi, qui ea cupiunt, satisfeceris. Commentaria autem in Genesin, quoniam de illis quærere videris judicium meum, equidem ea, mi Josia, nunquam legi: tamen non dubito esse ejusmodi, ut, si edantur, videri possint Petri Martyris.

Nova ea, quæ erant, conjeci in literas ad D. Bullingerum. Nisi Rhenus vester nobis ita esset adversus, et scriberem ad te, et mitterem sæpius. Sed iter longum est, et præterea ad istas nundinas vix unum aliquem invenire possum, qui isthuc eat. Nunc autem etiam de nundinis dubito. Quicquid autem de literis istis meis fiet, ego tuus, mi Josia, totus sum, sive scribo, sive taceo. Saluta, &c.

xxiii. Mart. 1563.

[53] [Franciscus Stancarus, a native of Mantua, professor of Hebrew at Cracow. He was imprisoned for his protestant doctrines. Subsequently he established a celebrated school of theology at Pinezure. His heresy was the assertion, that Christ was Mediator only as to his human nature.]

[54] [This is an allusion to the Ubiquitarian controversy, which had been much agitated in Germany, and on which Peter Martyr had written his Dialogue (described by P. Martyr himself, supra p. 153), "De utraque in Christi natura," dedicated to Jewel, Aug. 15, 1561, (see Strype's Ann. I. i. 430.)]

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XXXVI.

Bishop Jewel to Sir William Cecil.

[From the original in the State Paper Office.]

Right honourable, after my very hearty commendations. If your honour have read any parcel of my answer to M. Harding, as my lord of London informeth me you have, I doubt not, but as ye may well mislike many other things therein, so ye may specially mislike the length. Which thing notwithstanding, interlacing M. Harding's whole book, as it was for many causes thought necessary, and making several answer to every point, without great hindering of the cause, I could not devise how to abridge it, and make it shorter. I seek not ambitiously to enlarge the matter, but contrariwise have cut off as much as might stand with full answer to every objection, and with the perspicuity of the whole. I know many look for it greedily, and some wonder it is not abroad long sithence. But the adversaries make their vaunts, it is lost labour to go about it. All this forceth me not to hasten faster than I may. Which thing, as, God willing, it shall not hinder the cause, so, I trust, it cannot be greatly offensive unto the wise. "Sat cito, si sat bene." One thing I shall most heartily desire your honour, that I may not be called to preach this Lent before the queen's majesty. Otherwise, your honour knoweth, it would be unto me a great loss of time, and a great hinderance unto the matter, and so a great encouraging to the adversary. Thus I take my leave, and beseech God to guide you and your counsels with his Holy Spirit.

From my poor house in Sarum, 30. Januarii, 1564 [1565].

Your honour's own,

Jo. Sarum.

To the right hon. sir Wm. Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council.

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XXXVII.

Juellus ad Bullingerum.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. III. ii. p. 456, No. 85.]

Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu. Quid ego dicam, doctissime vir et carissime [57] pater? Et pudet, et dolet. Pudet primum, non scripsisse ad te sæpius [58]; deinde dolet, eas ipsas, quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos pervenire. Obsecro tamen te, ne putes, mihi aut scholam Tigurinam, aut rempublicam, aut vestram illam humanitatem tantam tam cito ex animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, et in sinu gero, et te inprimis, mi pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad literas attinet, equidem, præterquam anno illo superiori, cum peste et lue omnia ubique clausa essent, cæteroqui nunquam intermisi scribere ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis literis superioribus quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse a Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed missa ista facio.

Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quas tibi pro tua pietate magis cordi esse sat scio. Primum de religione omnia domi Dei O. M. beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant, et impediunt, quantum possunt, et evulgatis libris, nescio quo me fatone dicam an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni [59] maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse posse [60] otiosum. Offertur mihi inter alia causa illa Ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis [61] gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus, sed nostra lingua, utpote hominibus nostris [62]. Siquidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, et ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene equidem non

[57] [Park. ed. and Burnet, "clarissime."]

[58] [The Parker ed. omits "ad te."]

[59] [The three alluded to are Harding, Dorman, and probably Cope.]

[60] [Parker ed. omits "posse."]

[61] [Brentius, supra p. 177.]

[62] [See the 6th article in the Replie, "Of being in many places," vol. ii. p. 383. The Replie appeared in August 1565.]

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video, quid debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur in singulos dies magis magisque delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri Phasma, quod "nunc nuper dedit[63]:" et tibi, et de illo libro, et de omnibus literis tuis, et de omni tua humanitate ago gratias.

Respublica domi forisque, terra marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam; Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant: Flandri ad nos, et nostri vicissim ad illos[64]. Granvellanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cœpta sunt, id egit, ut, turbatis atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod vere e lanificio victum quærit, ad otium atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat, religionem una posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potius in auctorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant[65]. Flandricum autem vulgus, digressis nostris mercatoribus, et emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indigne ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari.

Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostris utuntur legibus. In illam insulam papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit hominem sceleratum, et callidum cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret (erat enim Hibernus), et gentem feram et silvestrem contra nos religionis causa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus et vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit Superos, Acheronta movere. In Scotia[66] ita est, ut volumus. Regina sola missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus.

Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quemquam viderim. Vale, mi pater. Dominus Jesus te quam diutissime servet superstitem et incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zwinglium,

[63] [Terent. Eunuch. Prolog. 9.]
[64] [See Strype's Grindal, ch. ix. p. 125, quoted by the Parker ed.]
[65] [Parker ed. "remanserunt."]
[66] [In Burnet and in the Parker ed. there is here an hiatus.]

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D. Wickium, ad quos singulos darem literas, si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obruerer negotiis. Sarisberiæ in Anglia, Calend. Mart. 1565.

Tui nominis studiosissimus
Tibique deditissimus
Jo. JUELLUS, Anglus.

XXXVIII.

Bishop Jewel to Archbishop Parker.

[From the original MS. in C. C. C. C.]

After my most humble commendation. These may be to do your grace to understand, that M. Dr. Humfrey, the president of Magdalen college in Oxon, is presented unto me by my lord of Winchester, unto a benefice in my diocese. Whom notwithstanding I would gladly admit in respect of his learning, yet in respect of this vain contention about apparel, I have thought it best to make a stay, until I might further understand your grace's pleasure. Unless your grace shall otherwise advise me by your letter, without good assurance of his conformity, I mind not in any wise to receive him [66]. Saving your grace's judgment, it were expedient that the matter were generally overruled. This long-sufferance breedeth great offence. Certain having obtained your grace's license, pass up and down the country from church to church, preaching everywhere as if they were apostles, and by virtue of your grace's seal require money for their labours. I will stay one or other of them if I can, that your grace may know him better.

Thus I humbly take my leave.

Your grace's humbly to command,
Jo. Sar.

From Sarum, 22 Dec. 1565.

[66] [It was in consequence, probably, of the resolution here announced that Humphrey wrote the letter to Bullinger, Feb. 9, 1566, requesting his *immediate* opinion on the lawfulness of habits, printed in the first series of the Zurich letters, published by the Parker society, p. 151. See also Strype's Annals, I. ii. 137, as well as, for Bullinger's reply, Annals, I. ii. 505.]

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XXXIX.

Juellus Bullingero.

[Zur. Coll. Vid. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 461. No. 88.[67]]

S. pl. in Christo Jesu. Rarius multo ad vos scribo, reverendissime pater, tuque optime Ludovice[68] quam aut ego velim, aut vos exspectatis. Idque quam vos in partem accipiatis, nescio. Cupio equidem, ne in malam. Quanto enim magis ego me vestræ omnium pietati obstrictum[69] sentio, quantoque pluris judicium de me vestrum semper feci, tanto minus velim me a vobis aut oblivionis, aut negligentiæ condemnari. Jam vero occupationibus meis tam longa silentia tribuere, putidum fortasse videatur. Tametsi si me nossetis et curas meas, nihil excusatione alia opus esset. Nam præter alias assiduas, meas, alienas, domesticas, publicas, civiles, ecclesiasticas molestias, sine quibus in hoc munere his temporibus vivi non potest, cogor etiam[70] pene solus cum hostibus, externisve dicam, an domesticis, conflictari. Nostri quidem sunt, sed hostili animo, hostili etiam in solo. Profugi enim nostri Lovanienses cœperunt sese magno numero anno superiori commovere, et in nos omnes acerbissime scribere, et me unum nominatim petere. Cur ita? inquies. Nescio, nisi quod[71] me unum omnium εὐμαχητότατον[72] et ad resistendum infirmissimum esse scirent. Tamen ante sex annos, cum in aula coram regia majestate haberem concionem, et de nostræ papisticæque religionis antiquitate dicerem, hoc memini dixisse me inter alia, adversarios nostros, cum nostram causam arguant novitatis, et nobis injuriam, et populo fraudem facere. Illos enim et pro veteribus probare nova, et ea damnare pro novis, quæ sunt vetustissima. Missas enim privatas, et truncatas communiones, et naturales ac reales præsentias, et transubstantiationes etc., quibus rebus omnis istorum religio continetur, nullum habere certum et expressum testimonium aut sacrarum scripturarum,

[67] [A part only of this letter was printed by Burnet.]
[68] [Lavatere.]
[69] [Park. ed. suppl. "esse."]
[70] [Pard. ed. omits "etiam."]
[71] [Park. ed. omits "quod."]
[72] [Park. ed. ἀμαχώτατον.]

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aut veterum conciliorum, aut priscorum patrum, aut ullius omnino antiquitatis[73].

Id illi indigne ferre, latrare in angulis, hominem impudentem, confidentem, insolentem, insanum dicere. Quarto postremo anno prodiit ex insperato Hardingus quidam, non ita pridem auditor atque assectator D. Petri Martyris, et acerrimus evangelii præco, nunc vilis apostata, et nostro Julio probe notus, qui me ex Amphilochiis, Abdiis, Hippolytis, Clementibus, Victoribus, Athanasiis suppositiis, Leontiis, Cletis, Anacletis, Epistolis Drecketalibus[74], somniis, fabulis, refutaret. Illi ego pro mea mediocritate[75] respondi anno superiori, ut potui. Sed o Deum immortalem, quæ hæc vita est! ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο! Vixdum absolveram: evolat extemplo Apologiæ nostræ Confutatio: opus ingens, et elaboratum, et conviciis, contumeliis, mendaciis, sycophantiis refertissimum. Hic ego rursum petor. Quid quæris? Respondendum est. Vides, reverende pater, quam non simus otiosi, ego præsertim, cui nescio quo meo fato semper cum istis monstris dimicandum est. Dominus addat vires atque animos[76], et proterat Satanam sub pedibus nostris. Hæc idcirco visum est scribere prolixius, ut, si posthac literæ isthuc a me infrequentius venerint, quam aut vos exspectatis, aut ego velim, id cuivis potius rei, quam aut oblivioni vestri, aut ingratitudini tribuatis.

Respublica nostra et ab armis, et de religione pacata est. Lovanienses quidem isti nostri turbant, quantum possunt. Verum populus est in officio, et futurum spero. D. regina recte valet, et abhorret a nuptiis. Hiems superior ita misere afflixit nascentem segetem, ut nunc ubique per Angliam magna frumenti difficultate laboretur. Hoc anno Dei beneficio omnia lætissime provenerunt. Ego D. Parkhurstum episcopum Norvicensem, D. Sandum episcopum Vigorniensem, D. Pilkintonum episcopum Dunelmensem triennium jam totum non vidi. Ita procul disjecti sumus. Vivimus tamen omnes incolumes, et vestri memores. Solus Richardus Chamberus obiit diem suum, sed pie [et] in Domino.

[73] [See the sermon at Paul's Cross, supra vol. i. p. 30.]

[74] [Sic in MS. It is perhaps a play upon the word "Decretalibus;" *Dreck* in German signifying "filth."]

[75] [Park. ed. "tenuitate."]

[76] [Park. ed. "animum."]

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[77]Contentio illa de ecclesiastica veste linea, de qua vos vel ab Abelo nostro, vel a D. Parkhursto audisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos. Atque utinam omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia papatus et e templis, et multo maxime ex animis omnium auferri possent! Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione hoc tempore nullam potest.

Res Scoticæ nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt. Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alii domi remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex papistarum agris agunt feruntque, quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat. Nam de religione adversariam habet magnam partem, et nobilitatis, et populi. Et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus rex abbatem quendam, Italum, cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et regem reginamque juvaret veteratorio consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper hactenus abstinuisset a missis, et ultro accessisset ad conciones, ut se populo daret, cum audiret, navem illam appulsuram postridie, factus repente confidentior, sumptis animis, noluit longius dissimulare. Accedit ad templum: jubet sibi de more dici missam. Eodem ipso tempore D. Knoxus, concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, maxima frequentia clamare in idolomanias, et in universum regnum pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea navis illa Philippica, jactata tempestatibus et ventis, fluctibusque concussa et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, et rebus omnibus, inanis, et lacera, et aquæ plena defertur[78] in Angliam. Hæc ego[79] non dubito divinitus contigisse, ut rex fatuus intelligat, quam sit auspicatum audire missas.

E Galliis multa turbulenta nuntiantur. Domus illa Guisiana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo. Verum ista vobis multo propiora sunt, quam nobis. Danus et Suevus

[77] [Burnet's extract from the letter commences here.]

[78] [Burnet, "refertur."]

[79] [Park. ed. "vero."]

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cruentissime inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in armis. Uterque affectus est maximis incommodis: nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest. Libri vestri, tuus, reverende pater, in Danielem, et tuus, doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam, incolumes ad me delati sunt. Ego et Deo Opt. Max. de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deque omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum in annuum stipendium xx. coronatos, et alteros totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, ecclesiam, rempublicam, scholamque vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zwinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wickium, D. Hallerum, DD. Henricum et Rodolphum Bullingeros meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, viii. Febr. 1566.

Vestri amans et studiosus in Domino

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo viro D. Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo; Tiguri.

XL.

Juellus Bullingero.

[Zurich Coll. et ap. Strype, Annals, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 323 et 545.]

S. pl. in Christo. Etsi proximis istis[80] diebus ad te prolixe scripserim, reverendissime pater, tamen cum occurrerent quædam[81] in quibus magnopere mihi opus esset[82] judicio tuo, non alienum me facturum arbitrabar, si iterum scriberem. Sunt autem res ejusmodi, quas non dubitem te pro tua multiplici rerum omnium cognitione facile posse expedire.

Primum scire velim, ecquid Christiani illi, qui hodie sparsim habitant in Græcia, Asia, Syria, Armenia etc., utantur

[80] [Park. ed. "his."]

[81] [The inquiries in this letter had reference to the Defence of the Apology, which the author was now preparing, and which was published in the following year.]

[82] [Park. ed. "est."]

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privatis istis missis, quæ nunc receptæ ubique sunt in papismo; quoque genere missarum, privatone an publico, Græci hodie Venetiis uti soleant[83].

Deinde, cum citetur interdum quidam Camotensis, qui in paparum vitam et insolentiam scripserit acerbius, quis ille Camotensis, et cujus ordinis, et quorum temporum hominumque fuerit[84].

Postremo, quid tibi videatur de concilio Germanico, quod aiunt olim celebratum sub Carolo Magno, contra concilium Nicænum secundum de imaginibus. Sunt enim, qui confidenter negent, unquam hujusmodi concilium ullum extitisse[85].

Peto a te per pietatem tuam, ne me insolenter putes facere, qui ista ex te quæram, tam procul præsertim. Tu enim solus jam superes, unicum prope oraculum ecclesiarum. Si ad proximas nundinas rescripseris, satis erit. Id autem ut facias, magnopere a te peto. Iterum iterumque vale, reverendissime pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiæ, x. Martii 1566.

Tuus in Christo

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo viro, D. Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo.

[83] [Supra, vol. vi. pp. 183, 189.]

[84] [Bp. Jewel, misled by a false print in Cornelius Agrippa, from whom he avowedly borrowed his citation, had alleged Camotensis for Carnotensis, even as early as in his slight controversy with Cole (supra vol. i. p. 88); and again in his Replie, (vol. ii. p. 217, where see the editor's note). Harding's notice of this in his Confutation (see vol. vi. 252, compared with p. 276, and vol. iv. p. 119.) led probably to the question in the letter.]

[85] [This council had been cited in the Apology, (supra, vol. iv. p. 85.) Harding (vi. 468) asserted that it was "a false forged matter, as the book against images is, which even Eli Phili, *the man in the moon's son*, Calvin, Illyricus, and other heretics have fathered upon that most godly and catholic emperor." In the Defence Bp. Jewel leaves the question of the genuineness of the book "wholly to the indifferent discretion of the reader." Vol. vi. p. 474.]

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XLI.

Juellus ad Bullingerum.

[Zur. Coll. et ap. Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. pp. 454. No. 84.]

S. pl. in Christo. Proximæ literæ meæ, ornatissime vir, cum Londinum tardiuscule venissent, et Francofordiam ad nundinas proficisci non possent, re infecta, domum ad me reversæ sunt. Quod non nihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in istas accidat.

De prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me literis proximis prolixe tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de synodo illa Francofordiensi, ut de re obscura et controversa, egregie satisfactum esse, et fateor et gaudeo. Res nostræ ecclesiasticæ, politicæ[86], privatæque eo loco nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant, et turbant, quantum possunt, et habent fautores, etsi non ita multos, plures tamen multo, quam velim. Et quamvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes scribant, tamen nescio quo meo fato omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaque dum illis respondeo, ne me esse otiosum putes.

Habuimus proximis istis mensibus comitia totius regni. Illis ego per valetudinem interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt leges[87] de religione, quibus papistarum obstinata malitia atque insolentia in officio contineatur. Actum etiam est de successione, hoc est, cui familiæ jus regni debeatur, si quid Elizabethæ reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea contentio mensem unum atque alterum omnium animos occupavit: cum regina ea de re agi nollet, reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, et utrinque magnis viribus et studiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris? Effici postremo nihil potuit. Regina enim, ut est fœmina inprimis prudens et provida, hærede semel designato, suspicatur, aliquid sibi creari posse periculi. Nosti enim illud: "Plures orientem solem adorant, quam occidentem."

De religione, causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti. Fratres autem

[86] [Park. ed. "publicæ."]

[87] [Collier says, that the only church business in this parliament was the statute (8 Eliz. c. 1.) for confirming all the consecrations of this reign, of which he has printed the greater part.]

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nostri quidam ita ea de re pugnant, ac si in ea una omnis nostra religio versaretur. Itaque functiones abjicere, et ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt, quam tantillum de sententia decedere. Neque aut tuis, aut D. Gualteri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum piorum virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos hoc tempore gravioribus quæstionibus exerceri. Unus tantum[88] quispiam e nostro numero episcopus Glocestrensis[89], in comitiis aperte et confidenter[90] dixit, probari sibi Lutheri sententiam de Eucharistia; sed ea seges non erit, spero, diuturna. In Hibernia nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nostris regibus. Johannes quidam Onelus[91], Spurius, conscripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ est, quam periculi. Is enim longe abdit sese in paludes et solitudines, quo noster miles consequi facile non possit.

E Scotia vero (quid ego dicam, aut tu quid credas?) horrenda atque atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejusmodi sint, ut credi vix possint, tamen[92] et ex aula usque ad me scribuntur, et passim jactantur, et creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem aiunt proximis hisce admodum diebus[93] cum uno famulo, quem habuit a cubiculis, interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foras, et relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista commemorare. Si ista vera sint, ne sint, tamen si sint, quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In præsentia nec ea, quæ ita constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea, quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare.

Julium nostrum audio Tiguri esse mortuum. Mitto tamen ad illum viginti coronatos Gallicos: si vivit, ut illi cedant, sin autem, quod nolim, mortuus est, ut in epulum scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium, scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, ad alios,

[88] [Park. ed. "tamen."]

[89] [Cheney bp. of Gloucester. See Strype, Annals, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 285; "We may conclude him not a papist, but a Lutheran rather in his opinion of the Eucharist." Quoted by the Parker ed.]

[90] [Parker ed. and Burnet "fidenter."]

[91] [Burnet "Onclos:" probably a misprint.]

[92] [Park. ed. omits "tamen."]

[93] [Park. ed. suppl. "una."]

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inprimis vero ad D. Gualterum, ad quem hactenus homo ingratus nunquam scripsi. Quæso, ut hosce omnes, atque etiam inprimis D. Rodolphum, et D. Henricum tuos meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiæ in Anglia, xxiv. Feb. 1567.

Tuus in Christo

JOANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho Bullingero, ministro eccl. Tig. fidelissimo, viro longe doctissimo et domino suo colendissimo; Tiguri.

XLII.

Bishop Jewel to Sir William Cecil.

[From the original MS. in the State Paper Office[94].]

Right honourable,

Having now well-near past the printing of mine answer to master Harding[95], I think it high time to consider of the dedication of the same. My lord of Canterbury's grace, and some others my friends here, have advised me, for certain good causes, to recommend it by writing unto her majesty: and specially for that M. Harding hath already adventured in an evil cause to do the like.

I beseech your honour, for that you best know the inclination of her majesty's mind, to aid me herein with your good counsel. It standeth not only me, but also the cause upon, that such attempts may have favourable acceptation. It may please your honour to advertise me of your advice herein by my printer, the bearer hereof, whom I have specially sent, and willed to attend upon your honour's leisure to that purpose. And if it shall please you also further to advertise me, what

[94] [There is a notice of this letter in Strype, Ann. I. ii. 250.]

[95] [The answer alluded to here is the Defence of the Apology; the preface to which is dated Oct. 17, 1567. The letter of dedication will be found in vol. iv. p. 99.]

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matter or matters it were most expedient to touch in my preface to her majesty, I shall reckon it as a double pleasure. Thus being always bold to trouble your honour, and wishing unto you the continual assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

From London, 27. Septemb. 1567.

Your honour's own
Jo. Sarum.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty.

XLIII.

Bishop Jewel to Abp. Parker.

[From the original MS. public library, Cambridge [96].]

My duty most humbly premised, with like thanks for your grace's great gentleness, at my late being there, it may please your grace to understand, that according to my promise I have ransacked our poor library of Sarisburie, and have found nothing worth the finding, saving only one book, written in the Saxon tongue, which I mind to send to your grace by the next convenient messenger. The book is of a reasonable bigness, well-near as thick as the communion-book. Your grace hath three or four of the same size. It may be Alfricus for all my cunning. But your grace will soon find what he is. Other certain books there are of Rabanus and Anselmus, but as common, so also little worth. If I had any leisure, I would send your grace the titles of all. But as now I am entering into the visitation of my diocese. By the way, if I may learn of any antiquities, I will do your grace to understand. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarum, 18. Januar. 1568.

Your grace's most humble
Jo. Sarum.

[96] [At the end of a Saxon MS.]

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XLIV.

Bishop Jewel to Abp. Parker.

[From the original MS. public library, Cambridge.]

After my most humble commendations, being now newly returned from the visitation of my diocese, and having this convenient messenger, I thought it my duty to perform my promise. And therefore have sent your grace that hidden treasure, that we had in our library. Whether it be Alfricus or no, or what matter it containeth, your grace will soon judge. I have made inquiry for such antiquities, as I have passed through my clergy in this visitation, but as yet I can find nothing. If there be any thing found, I shall have understanding of it. I will not forget to write to M. Bullinger. And if your grace shall otherwise command me to ought else, I am always ready. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarum, 31. Januar. 1568.

Your grace's most humble
Jo. Sarum.

XLV.

Bishop Jewel to Abp. Parker.

[From the original MS. in C.C.C.C.]

My duty most humbly remembered. Whereas I wrote of late unto your grace touching this bearer M. Lancaster [97], now elect of Armach, that it might please your grace to stay him from further ordering of ministers, it may now like the same to understand, that I have sithence communed with the said M. Lancaster concerning the same, and find by his own confession, that he hath already ordered divers, although not so many as it was reported: howbeit among the same he hath admitted and ordered one, whom by the space of these eight years I for many good and just causes me moving evermore

[97] [Thomas Lancaster, consecrated 1568, was chiefly remarkable for the number of English livings which he held in commendam with the see of Armagh. See Bishop Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, i. 283.]

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have refused. Your grace may further advertise him hereof, as unto your wisdom shall seem good. Certainly in such cases his discretion is very small.

Further, I am done to understand that Rainolde Woulfe is minded to print again the Latin Apology. I must humbly beseech your grace to stay him therefro, until the said book may be better perused, either by your grace or by some other. For in the first edition the author was many ways put to wrong. Whereof these printers have small regard, as tendering only their private gain. Thus I humbly take my leave.

From Sarisbury, 26 April. 1568.

Your grace's most humble
Jo. Sar.

XLVI.

Bishop Jewel to Abp. Parker.

[From the original MS. in C.C.C.C.]

My duty most humbly premised. It may please your grace to understand, that according to my late promise, I have sent iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* to the use of the poor exiles in London or elsewhere, to be delivered to my lord of London: or wherever your grace or he shall appoint. All things here are in good order and quiet. One or two of my clergy have lately grown squeamish touching the apparel. But the one of them I have reformed, to the other I have given a copy with licence to go further. I beseech your grace to give strait orders that the Latin Apology be not printed again in any case, before either your grace or some other have well perused it. I am afraid of printers. Their tyranny is terrible. Thus I humbly take my leave, and wish unto your grace the continual assistance of God's Holy Spirit.

From my poor house in Sarisburie,
7 Maii, 1568.

Your grace's most humble
Jo. Sar.

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XLVII.

Bishop Jewel to Sir William Cecil.

[From the original MS. in the State Paper Office.]

Right honourable,

Having taken a short view of these Greek books, I find that many of them are of humane matters, some vain and fabulous, and some unperfect, and yet all meet for some causes to be preserved. But if they should be divided amongst the bishops, whereunto of late I found your honour somewhat inclined, upon their departures, and dissolution of their libraries, they would soon be lost. Therefore if you shall think it good to have the said books kept within this realm, in my judgment it shall be best they be bought into certain of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, whereas they may be safely kept for ever. Which thing, I doubt not, upon small signification of your pleasure to certain the masters there, will soon be done.

Thus wishing unto you health of body and mind, with the continual direction of God's Holy Spirit, I take my leave.

From St. Lawrence Lane in London,
4. Dec. 1568. Your honour's own
Jo. Sarum.

These inclosed were sent unto me from M. Bradbridge, the dean of Sarisburie.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, deliver these.

XLVIII.

Bishop Jewel to Sir William Cecil.

[From the original MS. in the State Paper Office.]

Right honourable,

This poor man, the bearer hereof, is very desirous to understand your pleasure, and to be dispatched, and to that end hath desired me to move your honour in his behalf. In my

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judgment, there is no better way to preserve the books, than to cause them to be bought by certain of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, and to be laid up safely in their libraries; which thing, your pleasure once known, is very easy to be done. Notwithstanding, the further consideration hereof I leave to your wisdom; and desiring all convenient favour and expedition in this poor man's behalf, I heartily wish you well to fare. From London, 7. Decemb. 1568.

Your honour's own
Jo. Sarum.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, at the Court[96].

XLIX.

Bishop Jewel to sir William Cecil.

[From the original MS. in the State Paper Office.]

Right honourable,

After my hearty commendations, I have taken such order with these poor Greeks for their books, as I think they are indifferently well contented. Further, it may please your honour to understand, that one of the said Greeks, the bearer hereof, named Nicolas de la Turre, offereth his humble service unto the queen's majesty, and hath besought my letters unto your honour in the furtherance of his poor suit. If it shall please her highness to send him as her man into France, and to commend him unto my lord ambassador there, he will gladly copy out any such Greek antiquities there as you shall command him. Wherein, I believe, he will well deserve his hire. The matter is not great. A small entertainment will content him. Therefore I am the bolder to desire your favour in his behalf. Thus I humbly take my leave.

From London, 12. Decemb. 1568.

Your honour's own
Jo. Sarum.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, at the Court.

[96] [This letter is endorsed: "Bp. of Salisbury to my master, touching the books brought by the Greek."]

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L.

A letter found in the study of the right reverend father in God, and most godly pastor of Christ's flock, John late bishop of Salisbury, within certain months after his forsaking this earthly dwelling, which letter was sent to the author of this treatise by John Garbrand, master of arts in Oxford, and prebendary of Salisbury, who had by legacy given unto him, by the foresaid godly father, all his papers, writings, and notes of all his travails in God's vineyard, and other devices of learning whatsoever.

I have perused your learned and godly travail touching the matter of usury, M. D. Wilson, and have no doubt, but if it may please you to make it common, very much good may grow of it. Such variety of matter, such weight of reasons, such examples of antiquity, such authority of doctors both Greeks and Latins, such allegation of laws, not only civil and canon, but also provincial and temporal; such variety of cases so learnedly and so clearly answered, such learning, such eloquence, and so evident witness of God's holy will, can never possibly pass in vain. I will not flatter you, I cannot, it becometh me not. I assure you, I like all notably well,—"si quid mei est judicii"—and if my liking be worth the liking. But of all other things this liketh me best. Of the three parties, you make each one to speak naturally like himself, as if you had been in each of them, or they in you. What it shall work in other, I cannot tell; for mine own part, if I were an usurer never so greedily bent to spoil and ravine, "ut sunt fœneratores," yet would I think myself most unhappy, if such persuasions could not move me. For what man would not be afraid to live desperately in that state of life, that he seeth manifestly condemned by heathens, by Christians, by the old fathers, by the ancient councils, by emperors, by bishops, by decrees, by canons, by all sects of all regions and of all religions, by the gospel of Christ, by the mouth of God? "Ago breviter, ut vides, non enim id mihi sumo, ut damnem large hoc tam horrendum peccatum: id tibi relinquo."

Ut vivat liber, usura pereat.

From Salisbury, this 20. of August, 1569.

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LI.

Juellus Bullingero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Pergratæ visæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime, vel quod a te essent, cui ego uni omnia tribuo, vel quod submorosæ et querulæ viderentur, et officium meum requirerent. Equidem agnosco culpam, et peto veniam. Sic enim agere satius est, quam summo jure experiri. Tametsi non dubitem, esse, quo me defendam, quamvis apud severissimum judicem ageretur. Primum enim procul absum Londino. Deinde Jo. Abelus, communis rerum nostrarum procurator, excessit e vita. Postremo turbæ istæ Belgicæ aliquot jam annos ita impediunt itinera, ut neque nostri mercatores Antwerpiam commeare possint, neque Antwerpiani ad nos. Literæ autem nostræ sæpe in itinere relinquuntur, sæpe auferuntur alio, sæpe redeunt, sæpe pereunt. Et quid in has ipsas, quas nunc scribo, casurum sit, Deus viderit. Hæc certe causa facit, ut et infrequentius quam velim, et parcius, et cautius ad te scribam.

Quicquid est, gaudeo, res vestras eo esse loco, quo scribis. Deus nobis [97] mittat auxilium de sancto, et vos de Sione tueatur. Vobis enim inhiant hostes hoc tempore, nec minus feroces, nec minus multi, quam nobis. Videtur enim jam Antichristus prorsum omnem jecisse aleam, et orbem terrarum seditionibus, tumultibus, bellis, furoribus, ignibus, incendiis miscuisse. Videt jam, conclamatum esse, et sibi suisque exitium atque interitum imminere. Itaque id nunc agit miser, ut ne ignobiliter aut obscure pereat. Pereat ergo sane memoria eorum cum sonitu.

Quod vulgo apud vos obscuris rumoribus ferebatur, de mutatione status nostri, nihil erat. Nam et regina nostra Dei Opt. Max. beneficio imperium tenet, et religio eo loco est, quo fuit, quoque volumus. Pontificii tamen nostri, suasore atque impulsore papa Pio, omnia sibi sun .....[98] proposuerant. Sed benedictus sit Deus noster, pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod, dum quærunt alios perdere, ipsi pereunt.

[97] [Parker ed. "vobis."]

[98] [The transcriber seems to have failed in decyphering this word; the Park. ed. reads "sumere."]

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Duo quidem comites nostrates [99], et juvenes et fatui, et obærati et perditi, quibus alea magis quam religio curæ esset, sub extremum autumnum in ultimis Angliæ finibus aliquot millia rusticorum conscripserunt. Ea freti multitudine edicta etiam ausi sunt publicare homines levissimi, velle se, nescio quos, neque enim quenquam nominabant, sacro reginæ senatu submovere, et avitam religionem restituere. Quid quæris? Non mora. Excitantur [1] in castris altaria, comburuntur sacra Biblia, dicuntur missæ. Post aliquot hebdomades mittitur in illos comes Sussexius, vir bonus, et strenuus, et magni consilii, cum exigua manu. Illi se paulatim recipere, et retro cedere. Sussexius insequi prudenter atque acriter, et urgere cedentes. Ad extremum miseri, cum hostes infestis signis sibi viderent imminere, homines imperiti rerum, qui hostem nunquam prius viderant, non ausi experiri fortunam belli, perculsi conscientia sceleris, amentes, et cæci destituunt exercitum sine duce, et, relictis castris, clam noctu cum paucis profugiunt in Scotiam. Habes historiam nostrarum rerum, quarum vel meminisse non possum sine rubore. Pudet enim fuisse unquam in Anglia nostra vel tam ignavos, vel tam fatuos.

Regina nostra per suum actorem [2] repetit e Scotia perduelles. Sunt hoc tempore in Scotia factiones duæ. Alii enim puram religionem et evangelium colunt, et pendent a nobis, alii abhorrent a pietate, et papismo potius student, et inclinant ad Gallum. Horum princeps est dux Hameltonius, vir, uti aiunt, nomine magis multo pollens, quam consilio. Cogitur senatus; cœptum est deliberari: nostri reddendos censent: Hameltonii negant. Vincunt postremo Hameltonii. Nostri impatientes injuriæ armant militem, et in mediam usque progressi Scotiam, nemine repugnante, arces oppidaque ducis Hameltonii hostili more populantur. Nostri vero illi, quos dixi, egregii bellatores, cum se in Scotia tenere amplius non possent, profugerunt in Flandriam. Ibi nunc hærent apud ducem Albanum, et tumultuantur, quantum possunt.

Omnes istas turbas nobis dedit sanctissimus pater. Is enim

[99] [The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland.]

[1] [Parker ed. "eriguntur."]

[2] [The transcriber seems to have read "actorem," but suggests "oratorem," which is the reading in the Parker edit.]

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pro sua sanctitate et sapientia submiserat in Angliam ad suos bullam (aureamne dicam an plumbeam?) magni ponderis. Ea menses aliquot inter paucos obscure ferebatur. Significabat videlicet bonus pater, Elizabetham reginam Angliæ non esse; sibi enim illius instituta non placere. Itaque mandare se, ne quis illam agnoscat principem, neve illi obtemperet imperanti; qui secus fecerit, illum se omnibus diris devovere, atque exitio dedere. O sanctam sedem! Sic scilicet Petrus olim factitabat! Erant alioqui, quibus ista sacrosancta videbantur; cæteri non ita flexibiles erant ad omnes nutus pontificios[3], nec ita didicerant evangelium. Mitto ad te exemplar illius putidissimæ atque inanissimæ bullæ, ut intelligas, quam illa bestia solenniter hoc tempore atque impudenter insaniat. Proximis istis diebus novæ turbæ cœptæ sunt in Norfolchia. Sed auctores statim primo quoque tempore capti sunt, et conjecti in carceres.

Regina Scotiæ, e patria[4] profuga, asservatur, uti scis, apud nos: satis illa quidem honorifice, sed ita tamen, ut turbas ciere non possit. Hæc ea est, cui papa Pius non tantum Scotiam, sed etiam Angliam despondet. Sperat enim, fœminam catholicam, mariti carnificem, atque adulteram, ad restituendum papismum magnum pondus allaturam. Nos armamus classem, et militem habemus in procinctu. Ecclesia nostra cæteroqui Dei beneficio tranquilla est. D. Grindallus factus est archiepiscopus Eboracensis. D. Sandus, qui ante fuerat Vigorniensis, nunc factus est episcopus Londinensis. Parkhurstus Norvicensis vivit et valet. Illum ego sexennium jam totum nunquam vidi. Deus te quam diutissime conservet incolumem ad usum evangelii atque ecclesiæ suæ.

Saluta meo nomine D. Gualtherum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Wickium, D. Hallerum, et Bullingeros tuos, quos ego amo in Domino. Ex itinere; nunc enim obeo provinciam meam. vii. Aug. 1570.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus, episcopus Sarisburiensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo clarissimoque viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo, tradantur hæc; Tiguri.

[3] [Parker ed. "pontificis."]

[4] [Parker ed. "et patriæ."]

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LII.

Juellus Bullingero.

[Zur. Coll.]

S. pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te, ornatissime vir et pater in Christo colendissime, sub initium Septembris satis prolixe de omni statu nostrarum rerum. De illis literis quid factum sit, adhuc ignoro [5]. Fit enim sæpe turbulentis istis temporibus, ut literæ aut concidantur innocentes, aut exstinguantur in itinere. Si eas intellexero ad te incolumes pervenisse, ero alacrior ad scribendum.

Ecclesiæ nostræ hoc tempore Dei Opt. Max. beneficio tranquillæ sunt. Sanctissimus conatus est, quantum potuit, omnibus modis miscere omnia. Summiserat ad nos inanissimas bullas, quibus et Elizabethæ reginæ gubernacula reipublicæ, et Christo regnum suum abjudicaret. Illarum ego ad te superioribus nundinis exemplar misi, ut intelligeres, quam ille senex et fatuus solenniter insaniat. Omnia illius consiliorum mysteria ita ab illis, qui regni nostri clavum tenent, prudenter patefacta, et dextre appositeque refutata sunt, ut nunc a pueris rideantur. Perduelles illi miseri et fatui, qui jam ante menses octodecim cœperant in agro Dunelmensi tumultuari, nunc exulant [6] in Flandria eversi rebus omnibus. Lovanienses nostri unum jam atque alterum annum nihil scribunt. Regina Scotiæ asservatur, uti scis, apud nos liberali custodia, honorifice, et apparatu prope regio: tamen asservatur. Id illa impatienter et indigne fert, et sibi injuriam fieri clamitat. Nosti enim spiritus atque animos Guisianos. Aiunt fratrem regis Galliæ illam ambire conjugem. Interim res Scoticæ in illorum sunt potestate, qui profitentur evangelium. Societas illa, quæ nobis aliquando fuit cum Antwerpiensibus, ante aliquot annos illorum injuriis et perfidia violata, non potest adhuc coalescere [7]. In Hispaniis Mauri numero, viribus, et victoriis crescunt: Philippus in singulos dies imminuitur. De Cypro vero, et Venetis rebus quid ego tibi? Turcam nunc aiunt imminere Italiæ. Ille sal-

[5] [Parker ed. "nescio."]

[6] [Parker ed. This is evidently the right reading; in the Editor's MS. it is "excitant."]

[7] [Supra, p. 183 in this volume.]

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tem frænabit Antichristi ferociam. Nam Christiani principes toties admoniti nihil audiunt. Elizabetha regina nostra convocavit proceres, et indixit parlamentum in secundum diem Aprilis; quod felix faustumque sit, et ecclesiæ et reipublicæ. Ibi demum, spero, videbo Parkhurstum tuum meumque, quem septennium jam totum nunquam vidi.

Gualterus Haddonus, vir pius et facundus, obiit diem suum. D. Grindallus Eboracensis, Sandus Londinensis, Hornus Vintoniensis absunt a me longe gentium, quisque in sua specula. Omnes tamen tibi cupiunt, et te salutant.

Ego Julio meo debeo xl. Gallicos coronatos, videlicet duorum annorum proximorum pensionem. Scripsi ad illum semel jam atque iterum, ut significaret, cui me velit numerare. Pecunia præsto est: modo sit, qui accipiat. Si nihil scribet, non est, quod accuset fidem meam. Ipse sibi facit injuriam.

Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Dominus Jesus te ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissime servet incolumem. Sarisburiæ, ii. Martii, 1571.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus,
episcopus Sarisburien.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo, tradantur hæ; Tiguri.

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MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.

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MAGISTRI JUELLI HUMANITATIS ARTIUM IN COLLEGIO CORPORIS CHRISTI OXON. PRÆLECTORIS.

ORATIO

CONTRA RHETORICAM, CORAM OMNIBUS EJUSDEM COLLEGII ALUMNIS HABITA[1].

[MS. C. C. C. et Harl. 129. 72. 111.]

SCIO quam male audire soleant, his præsertim temporibus, (doctissimi auditores), qui studiorum suorum cursum sæpe commutant, et subinde novam sibi disciplinarum viam deligunt. Est enim dignitatis nostræ jam ante habere constitutum, quales nos velimus esse, et aliquid nobis proponere a quo abduci et discedere nolimus: levium autem est hominum et inconstantium, in omnes partes veluti vento et tempestate circumferri: et modo se poetas, modo philosophos, modo mathematicos, modo theologos profiteri. Id ego etsi non nihil verear, ne mihi hoc tempore vitio dari posset, qui tantum temporis in eloquentiæ studio, et philosophiæ[2] lectione posuerim, immo autem[3] mutata subito voluntate ad poetas me contulerim: tamen et quia plerumque et omnes ea consilii infirmitate nascimur, ut facile in deligendo vitæ genere decipi et errare possimus, et quia quicquid facio, id vestræ utilitatis causa facio, in bonam spem adducor institutum meum, quod vestrum gratia susceptum sit, vobis facile omnibus probari posse. Nemo enim unquam tanta felicitate ad studia literarum ingressus est, quin aut usus aut casus aliquis omnia sæpe superioris vitæ consilia perverterit. Non enim Jani sumus, neque oculos a tergo gerimus, ut quicquid futurum sit videre et animo prospicere possimus. Eaque de causa Homerus nos poeta sapientissimus μέροπας appellavit, quod alterum tantum cujusque rei quasi frontem contemplemur, rem autem integram oculis lustrare, totumque complecti nequeamus[4]. Itaque si quid primo non successit, id proximum

[1] [This academical prolusion is printed, for the first time, from a MS. in the British Museum, collated, by the kind permission of the president of C.C.C., with two MSS. in that college; the one apparently copied in a beautiful hand from the other, which it is difficult in some parts to decypher. The text has been determined by adopting what appeared to be the best readings in each.]

[2] [C. C. C. omits "philosophiæ."]

[3] [Ib. "omnino autem jam."]

[4] [This derivation of the word is possibly offered only in jest.]

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est ut secunda quasi navigatione corrigatur. Quis enim vestrum non audivit M. Catonem, virum et senatorium, et censorium, et sexagenarium, Græcis literis, quas semper antea odisset, in extrema ætate studuisse? Quis nescit Aristotelem, postquam Isocratis vocem in tanto esse honore, tantique a suis fieri sensisset, neglecto superiore consilio, abjectaque philosophia, et senem, et canum, et philosophum, repente commutasse omnem prope formam disciplinæ? Quid multa? Tanta est imbecillitas, et cæcitas rationis nostræ, ut quid nobis maxime conveniat, quidque in rem nostram futurum sit potissimum non videamus: iterumque labamur in aliquod certum studiorum genus antequam potuimus, quid esset optimum, suspicari. Quod autem ad me attinet, malo equidem, cum utilitati vestræ sim obsecuturus [4], desiderari a me prudentiam, quam, si temere [5] propositum retinuero, laudari constantiam. Nam si id unum responderem solum, me tot lectissimorum juvenum indoli et commodo consulere voluisse, quis tandem æquus æstimator posset institutum meum reprehendere? Hoc autem tempore ut mutarem consilium, gravissimæ me causæ et maximæ commoverunt. Video enim tandem, atque equidem video tempus illud omne, quod hactenus in eloquentia posuimus, inutiliter et turpiter perdidisse. Mirari scio plerosque vestrum, cum ista ipsa ex me, de me præsertim ipso, audiatis: verum sic est ut dico: nam simulare, dum vobis prodesse studeo, non video cur debeam. Atque utinam tempus illud quod hactenus lusimus liceret in integrum revocari. Nam rhetoricam quidem jam olim re ipsa experti sumus nihil nec fructus habere, nec dignitatis: studium, inquam, illud omne eloquentiæ, quod tot Græci Latinique scriptores illustrarunt, quod ego tam cupide complexus sum, et in quod vos omnes mea cohortatione compulerim, illud unum nihil habere nec dignitatis nec fructus: et totum otiosum esse, inane, futile, nugatorium, aperte denuntio, et præ me fero. Idque dum breviter paucisque doceo, quoniam vestra res agitur, quam ego rebus meis semper anteposui omnibus, quæso diligenter (ut soletis) animum attendite, et inanem dicendi curam perparvo oderitis [6], et animos majore cum fructu, ad aliud studiorum genus referetis [7]. Omnia autem quæ de rhetorica dici possunt, nec me polliceor

[4] [*Al.* "obsecutus."] [5] [Harl. omits "temere."] [6] [*Al.* "pro parvo habeatis."] [7] [*Al.* "referatis."]

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hoc loco dicturum, nec ea ab alio quopiam, nisi admodum loquaci et rhetore, tam brevi tempore dici posse arbitror. Nam cum multa sint, vel potius omnia, in ea facultate inania et levia, tum professio mihi ipsa dicendi otiosa videtur esse et perridicula. Nihil enim animi tam angusti est, nihil tam ipsa levitate puerile, quam venustatem quandam in dicendo et elegantiam consectari, et curas omnes, cogitationesque in verborum apparatu et linguæ celeritate collocare. Pudeat procul dubio eum qui animum, qui mentem, qui pectus habeat, linguam solam expoliri, ad eamque ornandam studium omne convertere: illa autem superiora quæ longe sunt omnium maxima, immunita, inculta, neglecta deserere. Nam quid sibi sapientissimorum virorum Pythagoreorum silentium tam diuturnum voluit, quid Lacedæmoniorum brevitas orationis et siccitas, ni siridiculum esset verborum multitudine circumfluere, et virorum gravitate indignum? Cur verba ab Homero dicuntur [8]
nisi quod ea divino poetæ alis veluti quibusdam ferri, et vento jactari, nihil autem habere, aut solidi aut firmi, nunquam insistere, nunquam hærere posse viderentur. Hæc scilicet ea sunt momenta et pondera oratorum, quæ quia in verborum sonitu et rebus levissimis occupata sunt, quanti facienda sunt, aut quid possunt, nemo tam stupidus aut hebes est ut non intelligat. Nam ad loquendum quidem, omnes satis a natura instructi sumus: idque jampridem nostra sponte, sine magistro ac præceptore didicimus: belluas enim mutasque pecudes hoc solo naturæ munere superamus. Non illæ a nobis animi virtutibus, non corporis robore, non ullo virtutis genere, non prudentia, non ingenio, non ratione, non astu, sed sola loquendi potestate vincuntur. Infantes enim et pueri, etsi tanta sint linguæ et faucium infirmitate, ut verba fingere atque extorquere orationem non possint, ita tamen sæpe vagiunt, et clamant, ita omni nixu contentioneque corporis cassos inconditosque sonos edunt, ut etiam tum loqui aliquid videantur. Nulla unquam fuit natio tam barbara, nulla gens tam fera, nulla civitas tam inculta et rudis, quin ad dicendi consuetudinem apta quodammodo a natura factaque esset. Alia enim sunt aliarum nationum studia, ingenia, mores: loquendi autem vis et oratio omnium animis et pectoribus innata et

[8] [In the later MS. of C. C. C. a blank is left here, as it seems to be required by the sense. The word was evidently πτερόεντα.]

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impressa, quasi insculpta est. Quare qui artem quandam loquendi faciunt, et eam se docturos pollicentur, non multo minus impudenter et absurde faciunt, quam si videndi, audiendi, ambulandi artem aliquam fecerint et profiterentur. Cur enim linguæ rationem habent majorem, quam pedum, quam oculorum, quam aurium? Cur id tantopere inculcant auribus nostris, quod nunquam quisquam tam tardus fuit, ut, quamvis cuperet, nescire posset? Verebantur fortassis homines nimium [8] mali, ne, nisi ipsi nos garrire docuissent, muti futuri fuissemus. Atqui loquebantur homines, et res inter se maximas oratione transigebant, antequam deus istorum Cicero et Demosthenes nascerentur. Quare non est opus quæ loquimur infinito et puerili labore, ad artem nescio quam et ad præcepta revocare. Quanta est autem importunitas, quod ex æquo detur [9] omnibus id unum ex omni hominum numero ad se retrahere? quodque omnium semper commune fuit id alicui rhetorum libidini et garrulitati condonare? Nam si id in dicendo quærimus (quod certe quærimus), ut ab aliis quibuscum agimus intelligamur, qui modus dicendi melior inveniri potest, quam ut aperte, ut plane, ut dilucide dicamus? Quid arte opus est? quid ornamentis puerilibus? Nam sive in scholis dicendum, acumen magis quæritur orationis quam elegantiæ, sive pro tribunalibus apud judicem, quidvis potius spectet [10] judex iratus quam verborum copiam: jus [11] enim quam probabiliter dicatur, non quam verbose copioseque, quæritur. Sin oratio paulo copiosior [12] et fluentior accesserit, aliquid subesse fraudis, et insidias sibi fieri suspicatur. Veritas enim candida et simplex est, minine opus habet linguæ præsidio et eloquentia, quæ si est perspicua et clara, satis habet ipsa in se firmamenti, expolitæ orationis delicias non requirit: sive obscura et adversa est, non ea in clamore et cursu verborum exquiritur. Nam oratores postquam inter se duo commissi sunt, et uterque eruditum illum pulverem spargere et jactare cœperit, si artem judex, si linguæ celeritatem, si contentionem strepitumque verborum, si clamores et audaciam, si elegantiam spectabit, secundum quos pronuntiet et quid respondeat, non habebit. Multa illi siquidem sæpe levia, inania, noxia, pugnantia, præcipiunt, et ut librarum solent singulæ,

[8] [*Al.* "minime."] [9] [*Al.* "debetur."] [10] [*Al.* "expectet."]
[11] [*Al.* "is—quærit."] [12] [*Al.* "nitidior."]

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in utram partem plus infuderis in eam partem vergunt. Non enim pietate, non amore, non æquitate, non religione, sed præda, sed mercede, sed præmio[13], sed largitione moventur. Etenim si in re impedita et lubrica proclamatorem et rabulam satis est aliquot horas ad clepsydram latrare, quid subsellia, quid tribunalia, quid leges, quid jura, quid instituta, quid mores majorum, quid tot patres, prætores, judices, magistratus possunt? Cur testium, tabularum, dictorum, scriptorum, quæstionum, jurisperitorum autoritate nitimur? Præclara quidem judicia, si quoties de æquo, et bono disceptatur, non legum interpres e senatu[14], sed rhetor e schola in forum deducitur: et causa clamante oratore stabit, tacente autem et rauco labetur et cadet. Verum oratores, ut medici non nisi ad hominem ægrotum et debilem, ita illi, non nisi ad causam desertam et perditam adhibentur: ubi nihil juris, nihil æquitatis, nihil boni videtur, ibi linguam et verborum volubilitatem incitant, ibi ardent maxime, et ut piscatores, qui anguillas venantur, nisi et noctem quasi retibus offundant nihil capiunt, usque adeo omnia sursum deorsum turbarunt: ita illi nisi lucem omnem eripient, quod quærunt unum, id agunt rhetores, ut res ipsa et veritas obscurentur. Quid enim dicam, obscurentur? Quid autem si mendacia, si mendacia doceant? Quid si nihil aliud doceant? Quid si præcipiant etiam? Nam quo potuit alio modo Protagoras deteriorem causam dicendo facere superiorem? Quo potuit alio pacto Carneades Romæ contra justitiam perorare[15], et summam virtutem, summam probare civitatum pestem? Pericles autem, cum palam ab adversario dejectus et victus esset, idque multitudo coram vidisset, verborum tamen elegantia persuasit astantibus se vicisse, ut populus magis oratione ejus quam oculis suis moveretur. Tantum mendaciorum in vitam invenerunt rhetores: neque id sane mirum: Mercurium enim habent patronum et familiarem deum. Hunc illi se habere gloriantur accuratæ dictionis inventorem et principem: at quem, dii boni! deum? qui fraudes, qui fallacias, qui latrocinia, qui furta, qui mendacia, qui perjuria in mores primus induxit: qui Tiresiæ boves, qui Marti gladium, qui Vulcano forcipem, Neptuno tridentem, Apollini sagittas, Veneri cestum, Jovi postremo ipsi sceptrum per fraudem sustulit: hunc illi patrem venerantur. Huic deo sacra faciunt. Ab hoc illi præ-

[13] [*Al.* "pecunia."] [14] [*Al.* "interpretes et senatus."] [15] [See p. 83 in this volume, note 25.]

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ceptore, audere, decipere, fallere, pejerare, dolis, calumniis, sycophantiis, jus, fas, leges, æquum, bonum permiscere atque obscurare didicerunt. Hæc suscipiunt et profitentur oratores: tantum enim habent juris, quantum habent linguæ et impudentiæ. Nam si veritati et æquitati causæ confidant, cur simplicem et usitatam sermonis consuetudinem fastidiunt? cur tot verborum delicias, tot umbras, et ineptias prosequuntur? cur in oratione soluta et libera pedes, numeros, vincula [16] machinantur? cur suspicationibus, conjecturis, opinionibus, fabulis, rumoribus pugnant? cur ad capiendas aures tantum insidiarum comparant? Quid illæ orationis figuræ, formæ, schemata et quæ illi lumina vocant, (mihi tenebræ potius videntur,) correctiones, commutationes, præcisiones, abusiones, ænigmata, extenuationes, præmunitiones,exclamationes, reticentiæ, purgationes, circuitiones, diminutiones, hyperbolæ sibi volunt? cur tot clamoribus, vociferationibus, lachrymis completur forum? cur dei de cœlo devocantur? cur mortui ab inferis excitantur? cur ædes, templa, monumenta, columnæ, sepulchra, lapides loquuntur? Quid sibi illi vultus quærunt? quid corporis jactatio? quid contractio? quid projectio brachiorum? quid femoris percussio? quid pedis supplosio? cur non ore, non lingua, non faucibus, sed manu, digitis, articulis, brachio, vultu, corpore denique toto loquuntur? Hæc enim omnia finxerunt sibi homines otiosi, et multo plus in his præsidii, quam in re ipsa et veritate collocant. O strenuos [17] nugatores, quibus sat scio, ludum nunquam in omni vita defuturum. Jam vero si nec mala causa alienis coloribus et illecebris ornanda est, nec bona obscuranda, quid loci putemus relictum usquam esse rhetoricæ? Quid autem si ipsi rhetores inter se dissentiant, et, ut carnifices et medici alios alia ratione et via jugulant, ita illi aliis aliisque mendaciis veritatem conficiant? Nescio tamen quo pacto, cum in præcipiendi solertia dissentiant, in mendaciis tamen omnes inter se mirifice congruunt. Coracem Tisias non probat, Tisiam Theophrastus, Theophrastum Demetrius, Demetrium Termagoras [18]. Nam Aristoteles, ne parum scire videretur, omnia superiorum rhetorum præcepta damnavit. Ab Aristotele Cicero discessit, a Cicerone Fabius, a Fabio Hermogenes. Sed quid hos dico? Hodie cum extent plusquam sexcenti rhetores, ex eo tamen omni numero nullum reperies, qui cum alio in præ-

[16] [*Al.* "umbras et ineptias."] [17] [*Al.* "suaves."] [18] [*Al.* "Hermogenes."]

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cipiendi ratione consentiat, Hic alterum quidem horum fieri potest, ut omnes fallantur; alterum autem, cum contraria doceant, et plane pugnantia, ut omnes vera doceant fieri profecto non potest. Nam quid commemorem dictionis genus aliud aliis placuisse? et cum alii se uberes, alii jejunos, alii pingues, alii graciles, alii acutos et vehementes, alii modestos et sobrios esse vellent, nunquam oratores adhuc duos inter sese similes fuisse, et inter eadem dicendi vestigia incidisse? Ciceroni alii pleniores, alii sicciores, alii lætiores, alii tristiores, alii tumidi et redundantes[19], alii exangues et aridi videbuntur. Quid multis? eloquentissimus vir et summus orator Demosthenes ab Æschine contemnitur et exagitatur ut barbarus. Cicero ipse a suis civibus fastiditur, ipse inquam Latinæ parens eloquentiæ Cicero, postquam eloquentiæ et linguæ causa totam pene Græciam peragrasset, et in patriam suam peregrinarum vocum magnum numerum invexisset: ab aliis tamen oratoribus ut fractus, et enervis, ut solutus, ut elumbis Asiaticus explodebatur. Atque hunc tamen, qui elegantiusculi haberi volunt, unum sibi proponunt quem imitentur: hunc unum, cum scribunt, hunc cum commentantur, hunc cum dicunt aliquid, omni studio atque animo intuentur. Cum ingenti copia selectissimorum verborum fluant: tamen ita se dicentes interpellant[20], ita hærent, ita dubitant, ita aliud verbum rejiciunt, aliud quærunt, aliud reponunt, ita se castigant, et cruciant, ut cum se magis[21] Ciceronianos, et elegantes videri volunt, nihil sit eorum oratione putidius, nihil quod majore cum fastidio audiatur. Nam quasi Cato, Varro, Cæsar, Terentius parum Latine, aut etiam plane barbare loquerentur, ita illi omni religione Ciceronem solum observant, ita distinctiunculas singulas prosequuntur, easque omnibus rimis infarciunt: et quasi sensum ipsi nullum habeant suum, nihil sentiunt, nisi quod Cicero prius senserit: plusque ex alieno sapiunt palato quam ex suo. Nullum nec poetam legunt, nec medicum, nec historicum: non publicum jus, non privatum attingunt, non antiquitatis memoriam, non geometras, non mathematicos, non philosophos: in uno Cicerone tabernaculum vitæ collocarunt: et in eo ipso non scientiam, non cognitionem rerum, non judicium quærunt, sed literas, sed apices, sed voculas, sed orationis elegantiam, et verborum copiam. Atque sive eum totum expresserint, quod nemini adhuc ne loquacissimo contigit: nemo enim unquam tam dissimilis aliorum fuit, quam ipse Cicero

[19] [*Al.* "timidi et exanimati."] [20] [*Al.* "interpolant."] [21] [*Al.* "nimis."]

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est sui: sic sive eum totum expresserint, fracti, elumbes, Asiatici videbuntur: sive non expresserint, agrestes, hebetes, impoliti, barbari. Quos autem habent oratores hujus tantæ veritatis[21] æstimatores? quorum judicio et auribus inserviunt? sapientumne? atqui perpauci sapientes sunt; et illi ipsi qui sunt, quavis potius alia re capiuntur quam eloquentia. At placet tantum laborum, vigiliarum, studiorum, opinione stultorum judicari: horum enim auribus inventa et nata est eloquentia: non ea sapientes auditores, non graves viros, non philosophos, sed populi colluviem, sed conciunculas, sed circulos consectatur. Pallas ipsa, orationis expolitæ dea, non patrum consiliis aut senatu, sed turba et populo delectatur. Nunquam sine his arbitris, hoc est, veteramentariis, sartoribus, calonibus, piscatoribus, mulionibus, ne Cicero quidem ipse satis disertus esse potuit: hic exultat, hic regnat, hic triumphat oratio. O pulchram facultatem, et magnificam! quæ errorem imperitæ multitudinis aucupetur, judicium et gravitatem sapientium reformidet. Scio ego, ista prudentiæ vestræ magna sicut et gravia videri: verum ea omnia exigua et parva sunt, si cum his conferantur, quæ nunc dicam. Nisi enim civitates a viris eloquentissimis eversas, nisi magna imperia in magnam solitudinem conversa ostendero: hæc omnia quæ hactenus audistis, quæ maxima sunt, pro nihilo putentur. Ut mihi quidem quicunque eloquentiam primus reperit[22] humanis rebus pessime dissipatas[23]. Non jura in dubium vocata dicam, quæ violare volebant, id est adeo fundamenta convellere reip.: non seditiones, non factiones, non insidias, non proditiones, non bella, non incendia commemoro. Nam quis nostrum Athenarum maximæ civitatis, et antiquissimæ miserabilem direptionem non audivit? Quæ cum Ἑλλας Ἑλλαδος[24] et epitome totius Græciæ diceretur, Demosthenis tamen oratione et lingua solo æquata, et pene a radicibus excisa et eversa est. Quis civitatem Romanam credet tot mœnibus cinctam, tot fossis munitam, tot regum prudentia constitutam, ullis humanis viribus expugnari, quamvis longo tempore, potuisse? At ubi se Marcus Cato commovisset, et Augustum cum Antonio commisisset, statim res Romana quæ consentientibus civium voluntatibus, et orbis terrarum studiis, et officiis, tot sæculis constitisset, brevissimo tempore unius oratoris opera cecidit. Civitatem, inquam, eam, quæ tot summorum imperato-

[21] [*Al.* "varietatis."] [22] [*Al.* "invexit."] [23] [This sentence is evidently incomplete.] [24] [*Al.* "flos."]

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rum et ducum [25] victoriis, trophæis, triumphis floruisset, quam fortuna ipsa omnium gentium et nationum spoliis ornavisset, quam non Gracchus, non Carbo, non Marius, non Sylla, non Catilinæ furor, non hostium vis infinita, non universa barbaria delere potuit: tot propugnacula, tot arces, tot mœnia, tot deorum templa, delubra, focos, aras[26], unus orator M. Cicero non consilio sed lingua, non prudentia sed eloquentia, non ratione sed oratione, brevi tempore dissipavit, et pene una cum stirpe et nomine funditus delevit. Ubi nunc illi sunt, qui toties queri et vociferari solent, ab avaritia, luxu, libidine rerumpub. opes everti. Hæc illa est, hæc illa est calamitas, hæc pestis, hæc pernicies civitatum, hæc quocunque inciderit, eo ruinæ, tempestates, incendia consequuntur. Nam quid Gracchos, Brutos, Cassios, Critias, Alcibiades, dicam, cum choryphæos, et principem Demosthenem dixerim? Quid de vulgo speremus, cum videamus quid summi oratores fecerint? aut quid esset hominum vita, si omnes essemus [27] rhetores, cum singuli maximas afflixerint civitates. Muliercula quædam olim Cantiana, cum Lundini forte, in magnum numerum juvenum nobilium, qui tum juri publico operam de more dabant, incidisset: percontata quinam essent, aut quid vellent, cum eos legum studiosos, et etiam brevi tempore jurisperitos et patronos fore accepisset: O res (inquit) perditas, o miseram atque infelicem rempub.!: rogata, cur ita se affligeret, mulier ignota et peregrina: Quoniam jurisperitus (inquit) apud nos unus jampridem omnium fortunas compilavit, et regionem totam exhausit. Quid isti tot facient, et disciplina et ætate feroces, et ad fraudem a teneris instituti? Quid autem illa dixisset, si tot vidisset oratores? Nam jurisperiti quidem, cum homines deducant in fraudem, et lites iniquo patrocinio defendant, tamen fidem suam, et ingenii lumen, et leges, et edicta, et jura, et senatusconsulta videntur vendere: oratores autem, cum de se omnia pollicentur, vultus, gestus, linguam, verba, nugas summas venditant. Hac eos de causa videmus omnium antiquissimarum civitatum judicio et existimatione damnatos esse. Ctesiphontem Lacedæmonii, qui pollicitus est se posse totum diem dicendo exurere [28], exulem et extorrem esse jusserunt. Romani de senatus sententia omnes oratores non solum civitate, sed etiam Italia tota expulerunt. Videte per deos immortales! quanti hoc hominum genus sapientissimi gravissi-

[25] [*Al.* "regum."] [26] [*Al.* "sacra."] [27] [*Al.* "essent."] [28] [*Al.* "eximere."]

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mique viri fecerint. Histriones, tibicines, lenones, parasitæ, meretrices, apud senatores et patres summo in pretio habebantur. Non eos in extremis finibus, non in angulis aut latebris hærere passi sunt, ne contagio ad alios perveniret. Atque hæc quidem non levium Græcorum non animorum[29] barbarorum, non imperitæ multitudinis, sed Catonis, sed patrum, sed totius civitatis judicio et authoritate decreta sunt. Hinc illud est, quod quanto quisque instructior est ad loquendum, tanto in exordienda causa deformius et fœdius perturbatur: conscientia enim eum, et scelerum cogitatio non patitur omnino consistere: leges, cruciatus, judicia, vincula, exilia pertimescit. Cur enim Platonem apud judices pro magistro Socrate dicturum ex optima causa, subito et ratio et oratio destituit? cur Theophrastus, quod ne pueri quidem cordati solent, in concione turpiter obmutuit? cur apud Philippum summus orator Demosthenes a mente, a ratione, a seipso discessit? Quid ea sibi vult trepidatio, pallor, dubitatio, stupor, tremor? nam si bona est causa, cur timent? sin mala, cur recipiunt? Sed mitto civitates, et patres, quorum si apud hos est levis authoritas, cur non sapientum, philosophorum, deorum exemplo commoventur? Dii enim immortales, si quid unquam dicant, usitato loquendi modo, et paucissimis verbis dicunt: divinus vir, et Apollinis judicio sapientissimus Socrates, cum capite et fortunis pugnaret, luculentiori oratione defendi noluit. Gymnosophistæ, Bardi, philosophi cum officinas instruxissent sapientiæ, et se ad infinitarum rerum cognitionem et curam dimisissent, nunquam tamen hæc studia coluerunt, non quod illis aut tempus, aut ingenium defuisset, hominibus et otiosis[30], et sapientissimis: sed quod hoc genus ineptias, et res[31] pueriles, nec satis e philosophica gravitate esse judicarent. Sed quid vetera commemoro? Nostri homines proximis hisce annis, cum ne umbram (non dicam eloquentiæ) sed Latini purique sermonis attigissent: cum Cicero, contemptus et spretus, in situ et tenebris jaceret: cum Scotus omnes scholarum aditus et itinera literarum possideret: cum nec ipsi se satis intelligerent, ab aliis autem, qui ea mysteria non didicerant, insanire et furere putarentur, quam illi tamen pulchre eruditi, quam acuti philosophi, quam graves theologi videbantur! Quanta tum erat bonarum literarum admiratio! quanta studiosorum juvenum frequentia! hæ tum sedes erant, hæc sacraria lite-

[29] [*Al.* "nimium."] [30] [*Al.* "jocosissimis."] [31] [*Al.* "inanes."]

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rarum, hic fons [32] omnis humanitatis, hoc caput fuit. O tum fortunatam Academiam! O tempora felicia! Nihil tum nisi de nostra sententia gerebatur: nos pacem componere potuimus, nos seditiones incendere: nos bella restinguere: nos principes inter se committere, a nobis cultus Numinis, a nobis pietas, a nobis religio petebatur. Quod nos decrevimus, id æquum, bonum, jus, rectumque fuit. Nunc autem, postquam Cicero nescio quis, ut Cerberus ex inferis, ita ille ex tenebris in lucem rejectus [33] est: studia literarum restinxerunt, animorum ardor elanguit, numerus in singulos dies imminuitur, collegia deseruntur, Academiæ gloria et splendor omnis obruitur. Hæc enim omnia mala Cicero vobis importavit, Cicero vobis hanc securim et plagam inflixit, Cicero omnia studiorum nostrorum spatia populatur, Cicero totius Academiæ decus et lumen extinxit.

Video me excludi tempore: et dum orationis futilitatem [34] et ineptias exagito, nimis ipsum a vobis ineptum et futilem [35] judicari. Hoc tantum unum addam, quod haud equidem possum quale sit intelligere. Nam cum studium illud suum dissimulant rhetores, cur id disciplinæ suæ caput esse statuunt, speciem, artem, orationem, quasi radices et stirpes obtegere. Non hoc bonorum virorum est, sed perditorum latronum: nullus unquam est artifex, nec tam vilis, nec tam turpis, quem artis suæ pudeat. Sartores, pharmacopolæ, lenones frequentiam et lucem quærunt, ac merces suas palam ac libere in publico exponunt. Orator solus inventus est, qui facultatem suam præ se ferre non audeat: id autem agit, ut cum maxime lingua utatur et arte, tum maxime expers artis et elinguis, et nihil didicisse posse videatur. Quæ quærimus exempla majora? quos testes, aut authores alios expectamus, cum oratores ipsi sua se voce condemnant? cur lucem et conspectum reformidant? cur eos pudet professionis? cur aliud simulant, aliud agunt? Quam illis fidem habeamus in alieno negotio, qui de se ipsis et arte sua mentiantur? Quid eos agere domi suæ putemus, qui non dubitant populo inspectante pejerare? Hi sunt, quibus nititur salus reipub., ad hos currimus, ad hos causas deferimus, hos imperatores vitæ nostræ necisque facimus, his fortunas, conjuges, liberos, dignitatem, salutem nostram committimus, quos artem suam didicisse ac profiteri pudeat. Nolo plura. Non enim dubito vos omnes pro

[32] [*Al.* "hæ fores."] [33] [*Al.* "revectus."] [34] [*Al.* "subtilitatem."] [35] [*Al.* "subtilem."]

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vestra prudentia satis intelligere, quid in omnes partes possit, quamque vim habeat eloquentia. Quamobrem (cultissimi juvenes) nolite tantum temporis et diligentiæ in eo collocare, quod ridiculum et inane sit, nihilque utilitatis aut fructus ad vitam communem adferat; quod vestris omnium animis et mentibus natura ipsa inseruit; quod bonam causam obscuret, illustret atque ornet malam; quod insidias, fraudes, mendacia præcipiat; quod ad errorem, ad quæstum, ad popularem temeritatem inventum et natum sit; quod sapientum gravitatem et conspectum fugiat; quod respub. maximas everterit; quod antiquissimæ civitates exploserunt; quod philosophi omnium temporum et nationum repudiarunt; quod majores nostri contempserunt; quod hujus gymnasii veterem et avitam gloriam oppresserit; quod ipsos postremo pudeat rhetores, postquam didicerunt, profiteri. Non est id vestræ dignitatis, non hujus indolis, omnes curas in res faciles abjicere, ad meliores literas[36] oculos non posse attollere. Sint ista sane aliorum studia, quibus aliud est nihil quod agant; aliud me et ingenia hortantur vestra, et ætates. Nec enim senio confecti, nec temere a quavis hominum turba et circulo[37] oblati estis. Juvenes (inquam) juvenes estis, summis ingeniis, summa spe, ad singularem literarum scientiam et laudem nati, semper in his educati. Aliter alii studiorum et vitæ rationes instituant: nobis in rerum cognitione acquiescendum, cui a pueris traditi et commendati sumus. Hoc sibi tot scholæ, tot præclara ædificia, tot magnifica collegia, tot heroicæ substructiones volunt. Nos ipsi hac causa iter tam longum ingressi sumus, et Oxoniam tam procul ad disciplinarum atque artium mercatum venimus[38]: hac via majores nostri, ad summam virtutis doctrinæque famam profecti sunt. Illos respiciamus, in illos intueamur, ad illorum imitationem et exemplar contendamus, in eodem vestigio, in quo ab illis relicti sumus, consistamus. Non enim viatores, non præcones, non proclamatores, non rabulæ futuri sumus. Quare si quid apud vos aut utilitatis ratio, aut dignitatis vestræ cogitatio valet, inutilem verborum profluentiam, et orationis ineptias contemnamus: cogitationes, industrias, sensus omnes ad reconditarum rerum scientiam conferamus: omni denique diligentia incumbamus in eam curam, ne temporis amissi, aut juventutis male collocatæ unquam posthac pœniteat. Dixi.

[36] [*Al.* "vestros."] [37] [*Al.* "curriculo."] [38] [*Al.* "ut—veniamus."]

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CONCIO IN TEMPLO D. MARIÆ PRO GRADU BACCALAUREATUS SUSCEPTO RECITATA[1].

1 Pet. iv. 11.

Si quis loquitur, quasi sermones Dei: si quis ministrat, tamquam ex virtute, quam administrat Deus: ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus per Jesum Christum: cui est gloria, et imperium in sæcula sæculorum: Amen.

DILECTISSIMI in Christo fratres, ex ea Epistola D. Petri quæ hodierno die ad populum legi solet, hæc verba potissimum delegi, quod cum pro hujus loci ac temporis consuetudine Latine esset perorandum, ea mihi ad hunc cœtum proprie pertinere viderentur. Quæ ut a vobis omnibus propius et melius intelligantur, pauca mihi a principio totius epistolæ sunt repetenda. Quapropter meminisse debemus, cum primis illis temporibus Christiana religio, ut pernicies animorum et rerumpub. pestis, ubique gentium exploderetur, et pietas erga Deum summa esse videretur, religionis novatores extinguere, ne homines Christiani et pii ea tempestate frangerentur, et spem omnem abjicerent, ita eos hac Epistola D. Petrum instituere, ut meminerint nihil novum aut inusitatum accidisse, Christum ipsum longe acerbiora, indignioraque pertulisse: ne quid animo conciderent: per afflictiones et cruces aditum postremo esse ad gloriam.

[1] [Extract from Humphrey's Life, p. 49. (ed. 1573.) "Quam autem in "templo Divæ Mariæ concionem ha- "buerit, quam Latine, quam compte, "quam theologice, me silente ipsa "loquetur oratio, cujus exemplum "mutilum, ut potui, aliquantulum "recognitum et correctius exhibere "malui, quam omnino supprimere, "quæ et concionatores multa utili- "ter commonefacit, et pro gradu "*Baccalaureatus* suscepto recitata "videtur, verbis ex 1 Pet. iv. de- "sumptis, dominica intra Octav. "Ascensionis." It appears from Wood's Fasti Oxon. i. 131, that Jewel was admitted B. D. in 1551, which fixes the date of this sermon.]

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Eoque et populum monet seorsim, et episcopos, docetque quid utrisque curæ esse debeat. Quod ad populum attinet, ait, satis ante datum esse nequitiæ, nunc cum religione vitam quoque mutari oportere: pietatem autem non in fuco et titulis, sed in vitæ integritate, ac morum innocentia sitam esse: iniquum autem esse ore tantum et lingua Deum colere, mentem autem atque animum diabolo addicere, et ab idololatris non vita et moribus, sed verbis et professione discrepare. Quoniam autem a majorum suorum antiquissimis institutis et legibus discesserant, et pauci hominum omne genus in se commoverant, monet, ut ipsi saltem omnibus officiis mutuam inter se charitatem colant, ne ulla unquam animorum aut studiorum dissensione distrahantur. Hanc enim solam tesseram esse Jesu Christi, qua diaboli mancipia internosci possint a filiis Dei. Ita futurum brevi, ut orbis universus evangelium et cœlestem doctrinam amplectatur, et hostes atque inimici crucis Christi, quos movere pietas non potuit, pudore ac verecundia vincantur et resipiscant. Episcopos autem monet, ut difficillimis temporibus munus suum omni industria studioque tueantur, et diligenter prospiciant, ne quid ecclesia detrimenti capiat. Non enim ludicram esse rem, sed onus gravissimum quod susceperint.

Proinde si quando ad populum verba faciant, loquantur ut sermones Dei, itaque se gerant, ut alii non homines sibi audire videantur, sed nuncios et interpretes divinæ vocis. Hanc ego sententiam huic tempori locoque accommodatissimam esse judicavi. Quoniam enim partim, uti spero, studiorum nostrorum cursum jampridem eo direximus, docebimur hoc loco, quemadmodum cœleste munus ornandum sit, ut opera nostra ecclesiæ Dei aliquando utilissima esse possit, et sacrosanctum evangelium quam longissime promovere.

Verum ut agatur distributius, nec vagetur aut erret oratio, hæc mihi tria visum est paucis attingere: primum concionatori dicendum esse: dein quid: tum quo pacto dicendum sit: ut intelligi possit, primum vix satis probum concionatorem esse, qui pro concione nihil unquam dicat, dein non fabulas aniles, sed verbum Domini populo esse proponendum, postremoque illud ipsum verbum reverenter et magnifice pro rei dignitate tractandum. Verum ut Deus Opt. Max. et vobis omnibus animos sacro afflatu, et mihi vocem accendat fructus-

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que aliquis ex hac re ad omnes redeat, peto a vobis, ut imbecillitati meæ vestra pietate suffragemini.

In primis autem commendo pietati vestræ universam Christi ecclesiam per omnem terrarum orbem dissipatam, et, ut nunc quidem est, multis in locis misere habitam. Seorsim vero hanc nostram Anglicam et Hibernicam, in eaque clariss. regis nostri Edouardi majestatem, regis illustriss. sorores Mariam et Elizabetham, sacrosanctum senatum, magistratus ecclesiasticos et politicos, omnemque populum Britannicum, utramque academiam, et hanc in primis Oxoniensem, cancellarium, vicecancellarium, procuratores, Robertum Morventum præsidem collegii Corporis Christi, Doct. Rainaldum præfectum collegii Mertonesis, et omnem in utroque collegio studiosam juventutem. Agetis Deo Opt. Max. gratias de Henrico Septimo, Octavoque, regibus clariss. memoriæ, Humfredo duce Glocestrensi, &c., quod ad alendas bonas literas et propagandam religionem, ea lumina pro sua infinita bonitate voluerit accendere: orabitisque, ut et alios deinceps horum similes velit excitare, et nos omnes ad illorum societatem in Abrahami sinum aggregare.

" Qui loquitur, loquatur ut sermones Dei."

Ut horum verborum sententia melius intelligeretur, quoniam, et de pastoribus, et apud pastores agendum erat, hac usus sum distributione, ut dicerem, pastori primum sæpe, dein e sacris literis, postremo graviter et modeste pro rei dignitate dicendum esse. Et de officio quidem pastorum, equidem adhuc nec quid dicam satis video, nec quid taceam. Nam dicere quod jam ante toties dictum sit, et odiosum, et importunum est: tacere autem tantam socordiam, et ignaviam nostrorum temporum, non nihil vereor, ne hominis et socordis videri possit, et ignavi. Certe si in hac causa Dei vox immortalis audiri posset, hoc tempore voce opus non esset mea. Nam ne quid dicam præterea, omnes nos scripturæ satis officii nostri commonent; Deus ipse nihil unquam vel sæpius, vel gravioribus verbis imperavit, quam ut populus ad sui cognitionem et pietatem institueretur. Fili hominis, inquit Dominus apud Esaiam, clama, ne cesses, vociferare, excita tanquam tubam vocem tuam, et denuntia populo meo scelera sua. Quoties clamat Christus, Ite, docete, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ? Væ mihi, ait propheta, quia tacui.

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Væ mihi, ait Paulus, si non docuero evangelium. Verum tanta nostra est vel securitas, vel mollities, et aures ad omne sanum consilium occlusimus, ut contumeliæ loco nunc ducamus, si quis nos officii nostri commonefaciat. Verum quicquid nobis videtur, hoc certe Deo semper visum est præsidium ad constituendam ecclesiam, et firmissimum, et maximum. Sic enim nos Deus e tenebris eduxit in lucem, sic mortuos vitæ reddidit, sic vinctos et captivos ex inferis in cœlum intulit, sic vires diaboli comminuit, sic mundum universum in potestatem, et ditionem suam redegit, sic nominis sui famam in omnes terras propagavit. Nam si Christus, si apostoli, si prophetæ tacuissent, quæ nunc esset nostra conditio? quæ usquam esset religio? quis cultus Numinis? Quod lucem aspicimus, quod fugimus a vinculis, quod filii Dei numeramur, et sumus, id omne debemus prædicationi verbi Dei. Ne ludamus, fratres, ne ludamus ipsi nos. Non sunt ita constabilitæ res nostræ, ut non possint ruere. Nisi cavemus, nisi circumspicimus, nisi studium et diligentiam adhibemus, facile omnia in pristinum locum labentur et ruent. Lucerna, nisi addatur oleum, facile extinguitur. Victoria eadam via retinetur, qua paratur. Nam quos nunc arietes non admovet diabolus, quas artes non experitur, qua via non grassatur ad evertendam ecclesiam Dei? Semper agit excubias, nunquam defatigatur, tantum vitiorum, ignorationis, cæcitatis importavit, ut nihil usquam loci sit, ubi concionator otiosus esse debeat. Quemadmodum autem, si sol de mundo sublatus esset, omnia obscura, dissipata, confusa relinquerentur, ita sublata ex ecclesia Pastoris voce, religio temeraria, cæca, turbata relinquitur, omnia errore, superstitione, idololatria permiscentur. Tanti est procuratorem esse domus Dei. Evangelium, religio, pietas, salus ecclesiæ a nobis pendet solis. Hoc nostrum est officium, hoc suscipimus, et profitemur. Hoc nisi facimus, nihil facimus, nullus est nostri usus. Non enim satis est nescio quas novisse literas. Dæmones norunt plura fortasse, quam quisquam nostrum. Pastoris est, non tam multa didicisse, quam multum docuisse. Pudeat autem vilissimum genus hominum, cerdones et bajulos, officium suum facere, nos autem, quos aliis omnibus prælucere oportuit, otiosos esse, et nihil agere. Non enim nos Deus ventres otiosos, sed suæ mentis interpretes, ministros

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Jesu Christi, populi sequestros apud Dominum Sabaoth. Lucem mundi, salem, angelos, et filios Dei et appellari, et esse voluit: præficimur autem non mutis pecudibus, non feris animantibus, sed gregi Domini, sed filiis Dei, sed fratribus Christi. Si quis horum nostro vitio perierit, sanguis ejus e nostris manibus repetetur. Hæc si nobis sola in oculis atque animis versarentur, non ita fratrum nostrorum, non ita nostram salutem, non ita sanguinem Christi secure et temere projiceremus. Nihil enim est, quod quisquam dicat: Surdis canimus, populus non audit, laboramus ingratis, nihil promovemus, rem sanctam objicimus canibus, margaritas damus porcis. Scimus ista interdum vere dici, et vehementer dolet tam vere in homines Christianos dici posse. Neque tamen nos idcirco reticere oportuit, sed tanto frequentius, tantoque acrius, et incensius dicere. Quanto enim periculosior est morbus, tanto magis opus est medico. Nec satis juste de populi contumacia queri possumus, si nos interim ipsi nihil agimus. Præstemus nos operam nostram, successum Domino relinquamus. Tum illi, si animo ita erunt obfirmato, ut audire nolint, in peccato suo morientur. Sed nihil est causæ, quamobrem populi salutem desperemus. Deus ipse coluit vitem, quæ pro uvis peperit labruscas. Deus ipse totos dies protendit manus ad populum rebellem et contradicentem. Christus ipse quoties dixit: "Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos," cum illi aures avertissent, et audire noluissent! Hic morbus facile tolletur, si adhibebitur medicina. Proferamus nos lucem, Dominus aperiet oculos: pulsemus aures, Dominus dabit cor carneum: demus nos verbum, Dominus dabit Spiritum: plantemus, rigemus, Dominus suo tempore dabit incrementum. Nam ut nostrum est, populum verbis instituere, ita Dei est, fidem dictis suis et robur adjungere. Ea autem est vis verbi Dei, ut nihil efficere, et nulli prodesse non possit. Multa in vepres, in viam, in saxa cadent, et aliquid cadet in terram bonam, et feret fructum. Quemadmodum enim imber descendit de cœlo, et illuc non revertitur, sed irrigat, et perfundit terram, et eam facit germinare, et dat semen serenti, et panem comedenti: sic verbum meum, dicit Dominus, quod egreditur ex ore meo, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed conficiet quæcunque volui.

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Sed quoniam non satis est dicere, videamus nunc id, quod secundo loco polliciti sumus, quid sit dicendum. Alii enim interdum dicunt, quos præstiterat tacuisse, alii cum magna contentione vociferantur, et clamant, nihil dicunt. Quapropter videndum est, neve otiose, neve perniciose dicatur. Non enim omnia promiscue pro concione ad populum dicenda sunt. Habenda est ratio, quid populi religiosum silentium, quid loci reverentia, quid muneris nostri magnitudo postulet. Vera dicenda sunt, non mendacia, scripturæ, non fabulæ, Dei Opt. Max. præcepta, non hominum somnia: non enim nostro judicio instituenda est religio, sed e verbo Dei. Qua quidem in re si vel Mosen, vel prophetas, vel apostolos, vel Christum, vel Patrem ipsum audiemus, haud sane multum aberrabimus. Moses enim cum per incultam et desertam regionem populum exulem et vagum traduceret, in tanta solitudine, quicquid vel dicendum, vel agendum esset, semper consuluit Dominum, nihil unquam attulit de suo. Prophetæ semper aiunt, Verbum Domini, Visio Domini, Vox Domini, Hæc dicit Dominus, Audite Dominum. Ego, inquit Paulus, evangelium meum non accepi ab homine, neque per hominem: et nihil novi nisi Jesum Christum, et illum quidem crucifixum. Et si angelus e cœlo docuerit aliud evangelium quam quod didicistis, anathema sit. Christus, Omnia, inquit, quæ audivi a Patre meo, tradidi vobis: et prædicate, inquit, non quicquid inciderit, sed evangelium omni creaturæ. Et cum quæstiones Pharisæi et Sadducæi de divortio, et mortuorum reditu ad vitam commovissent, nunquam ad rabbinos recurrit, semper ad verbum Domini. Deus Pater clamans e cœlo, Hic, inquit, est Filius meus dilectus: ipsum, non patres, non avos, aut proavos, sed ipsum, inquit, audite. Suum enim Filium cœlestis Pater, et verbum suum omnibus locis doceri et inculcari voluit. Neque certe cuiquam dubium esse potest, quin quod et optimus, et sapientissimus, et amantissimus Pater nostra causa nobis dedit, et optimum sit, et sapientissimum, et nostris rationibus utilissimum. Hoc illud est flumen aquæ scaturientis in vitam æternam. Hæc illa est caro, hic ille sanguis Jesu Christi, hic unicus est, et suavissimus, et saluberrimus pastus animorum. Hoc solo gladio diabolus superatur, hoc solo lapide Goliah sternitur, hoc solo malleo animorum rigor, et durities emollitur, et vincitur. Hoc nisi

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esset, neque religio vigere, neque fides confirmari, neque ecclesia in officio contineri posset. Revocate enim ad memoriam, per Deum immortalem, quoties verbum Domini elanguerit, quoties et quam graves in errores, et quantum in præcipitium populus universus inciderit, quoties Deum Opt. Max., conservatorem et patrem suum contempserit, quoties Ashtaroth, Belial, solem, lunam, vitulos, pecudes coluerit, seque ab omni religione et pietate averterit, et in rebus inanissimis et fœdissimis spem omnem et fiduciam collocarit. Cum enim suam sibi quisque religionem et sanctimoniam ex animo suo peperisset, ita repente increbuit superstitio, et tanta novorum deorum multitudo, ut propheta coactus sit exclamare, Pro numero civitatum sunt dii tui. Nam cum veritatem, cum vitam, cum religionem deseruissent, quid relinquebatur, nisi ut in mendacia, in exitium, in impios cultus præcipites ruerent? Hæc enim vetera commemorare malo, quam exemplis uti vivis et recentibus. Nemo enim nostrum unquam fuit, vel tam cæcus ut non videret, vel tam stupidus, ut non intelligeret superiorum temporum calamitatem. Omnem enim non modo Judæorum, sed etiam Ægyptiorum et Græcorum superstitionem et vanitatem multis partibus superavimus. Nam cum conciliorum autoritas, et aliquot episcoporum, et monachorum conspiratio supra scripturas Dei locaretur, cum Romanus pontifex homone an Deus esset, et peccarene posset ambigeretur, cum omnia ad hominum constitutiones, nihil autem ad Christi cognitionem rejiceretur, cum indulgentiarum, votorum, missarum auctiones publice, et sine pudore ac fronte venderentur, cum sacramenta misere discerperentur, cum verbum Dei pro fraude et hæresi damnaretur, cum nihil a superstitione integrum et purum relinqueretur, cum error omnia possideret, veritas audiri non posset, ubi tum, aut quæ usquam fuit ecclesia Dei? Hæresis tum erat, non quod a scripturis, sed quod ab aliquot episcoporum libidine discrepasset. Nam evangelium in angulos abstrudebatur, nihil Christi judicio relinquebatur. Non enim tum pro civitatum, sed pro vicorum atque etiam pene pro domorum numero dii numerabantur nostri. Ita omnia prorsus pervertebantur, cum religio non verbo Dei sed hominum arbitrio niteretur. Hi nos horridi casus, fratres, monere possunt, ne unquam temere discedamus a verbo Dei. Eaque de causa omnes scripturæ

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nos toties et tam diligenter monent, ut neve addamus aliquid ad verbum Dei, neve minuamus, neve ad dextram vel sinistram deflectamus. Neque enim Dominus nos Aristarchos et criticos esse voluit, sed nuntios et ministros vocis suæ. Nam quicquid ad salutem nostram et ad pietatem facit, id omne jam olim Deus ipse suis legibus occupavit. Sacra enim Scriptura, ut ait Paulus, divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad doctrinam, ad redargutionem, ad correctionem, ad institutionem, ut integer sit homo Dei ad omne opus bonum instructus: ut perfectus, inquit, et integer sit homo Dei, et quod vel ad pietatem, vel ad mores faciat, omnibus numeris et partibus absolutus. Jam vero Dei legato apud populum Dei, quid potius proferendum est, quam verbum Dei? In civili negotio legatus, si extra mandata quippiam forte dixerit, accusatur παραπρεσβείας et malæ obitæ legationis, vocatur in jus, jubetur capitis causam dicere. Cur non eadem fide tractamus verbum Dei? Sed nimis, o Deus bone, nimis animo securo, fratres mei, nimis animo securo sumus. Quasi falli homines soli non possint, ita id tenemus unum, id tuemur, id defendimus quod a majoribus nostris profectum sit. Multi erant apud Judæos sicarii, latrones, adulteri, in nullum tamen genus hominum Christus vel sæpius, vel acerbius invehebatur, quam in Pharisæos et scribas. Violatis enim, inquit, præceptum Dei propter traditiones vestras. Frustra me colitis, docentes doctrinas et præcepta hominum. Cæci sunt duces cæcorum. Meretrices et peccatores antevertunt vos in regno Dei. Id quoties et quibus verbis conqueritur Dominus apud prophetas? Obstupescite, inquit, cœli: duo mala fecit populus meus, me reliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ, et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, quæ aquas continere non possunt. Quid enim paleæ ad triticum? quid hominum temeritas ad æternam voluntatem Dei? nam Basilius hominem vel parum Christianum ait esse, vel insigniter arrogantem, qui Scripturis Dei vel addere aliquid audeat, vel detrahere. Hominum enim inventa ad verbum Dei ascribere, quid aliud videri potest, quam mustum, non veteri cum vino, sed cum vappa fæceque miscere? et lucem cum tenebris, feram cum homine, hominem cum Deo conjungere? non sunt cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus: quantum enim abest cœlum a terra, tantum absunt viæ meæ

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a viis vestris, et cogitationes meæ a cogitationibus vestris. Imo quantum abest homo a Deo, tantum abest sensus humanus a verbo Dei.

Nam quamvis patribus plurimum sit omnium judicio tribuendum, tamen et homines erant, et errare potuerunt. Certe, ne quid dicam præterea, maximis sæpe et gravissimis de rebus parum inter sese convenerunt. Dei autem verbum et fixum, et firmum, et certum est, et in omne tempus constitutum. Hoc doctrinæ genus Petrus populo pro concione tradi voluit. Oportet enim eum qui cum populo acturus sit, prius ipsum instructum esse verbo Dei, ut tanquam ab afflatu Numinis cœlestis proferat oraculum. O si Petrus nunc viveret, quid ille diceret, vel quid potius non diceret, postquam religio, pietas, Scripturæ, omnia in hominum inventa et somnia transierunt? Id enim solum hodie ambigitur, hominumne potius consuetudines retinendæ sint, an leges Dei. Id solum has turbas edidit, id omnem terrarum orbem commovit, hominine major fides habenda sit, an Deo. Scio ego, ista plerisque vestrum nova videri et incredibilia. Sed ponite, quæso, affectiones, fratres mei, et præjudicatam de rebus opinionem, et me nihil temporis causæ fingere, sed rem ipsam dicere sentietis. Christus sacram communionem in sui recordationem instituit: homines nec memoriam Christi ullam, nec communionem retinent, sed rem omnem in ludicrum apparatum, et tragicum pene spectaculum commutaverunt. Christus ait: Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem semper non habebitis: relinquo mundum, et discedo ad Patrem: expedit vobis, ut ego abeam; atque hoc Christus non de Numine suo, quo Patrem æquabat, aut cœlesti natura, sed de corpore suo loquebatur: homines aiunt Christum nec mundum corpore reliquisse, nec abiisse ad Patrem. Paulus ait Christum in cœlo esse ad dextram Patris. Petrus in Act. Apostol. ait, eum oportet cœlum capere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium: homines aiunt, corpus Christi simul et in cælo, et in terris esse, et in infinitam multitudinem locorum eodem tempore dissipari. Paulus ait, Christum semel ingressum esse in sancta, et omnia unico sacrificio et una victima perfecisse: homines aiunt, se posse Christum ipsum denuo in singulos dies, non memoriæ tantum causa, sed re ipsa, infinitis in locis sacrificare. Christus ait, Dominum

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Deum adorabis, et eum solum coles: homines eucharistiam, nec Dominum, nec Deum, sed sacramentum Domini, sine authoritate scripturarum, aut exemplo apostolorum, pro dolor! adorant pro Deo. Nam per Deum immortalem, cogitate cum animis vestris, fratres, quis unquam, non dico apostolorum, sed sanctorum, eucharistiam vel adoravit ipse, vel aliis proposuit adorandam? video me ista non apud vulgus hominum, sed apud doctissimos viros dicere. Appello vestras omnium conscientias, utar in hac re vestro ipsorum testimonio. Christus eucharistiam integram tradi jussit: eam homines miserum in modum lacerarunt. Christus ad legem suam nihil ascribi voluit, homines non tantum ascribunt plurima, verum etiam ea præferunt verbo Dei. Sed quid plura commemoro? Longum esset omnia inter se componere. Hoc tantum uno verbo dicam, Qui transubstantiationes, qui missas, qui divorum invocationes, qui cœlibatum, qui purgatorium, qui statuas, vota, nugas, ineptias, quis quilias in Dei ecclesiam invexerunt, nova tradiderunt et inaudita scripturis. Quicquid clamant aut crepant, ne apicem quidem proferunt e verbo Dei. Atque hæc, ut dixi, ea sunt, quibus hodie ecclesia commovetur. Hic excubatur, hic prospicitur ecclesiæ. Hæc scripturarum colunt loco, et obtrudunt populo pro verbo Dei: hic homines salutem suam et religionis summam sitames se arbitrantur. Quodque multo est gravius, postquam hodie, summo Dei beneficio, religio ad pristinam pene dignitatem et lucem rediit, miseri tamen homines et deplorati ista mirantur, ista repetunt, ista docent, quasi sine his ecclesia salva esse non possit. O si inter tot clamores et in tanto tumultu verbum Domini audiri posset! Si Deum ipsum per nos liceret in sua causa sedere judicem, minus magno cum tumultu res transigeretur, faciliusque de toto negotio conveniret. Quapropter si e verbo Dei omnis cultus numinis, omnis pietas, omnis religio petenda sit, si hominum instituta omnia omnibus temporibus misere perverterint, cogitemus, fratres mei, quibus docendi provincia contigit, quam sit periculosum plura dicere: omnes autem, qui se Christianos numerari, et esse volunt, meminerint quam sit periculosum plura credere. Si quis autem est ex hoc omni numero, qui se ad aliud vitæ genus contulit, meminerit tamen ad se ista pertinere, ut si docere aut non possit, aut nolit, dicentem tamen

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diligenter et attente audiat, et Deo gratias agat in ea se tempora incidisse, cum verbum Domini libere pureque audire possit. Ne nimium prudentiæ nostræ, ne nimium patrum et majorum autoritati tribuamus. Ne temere putemus homines ea felicitate natos esse, ut quicquid dixerint errare non possint. Cum ad horrendum illud tribunal sistemur, cum omnia deflagrabunt, et angeli Dei contremiscent, quos tum ad patres miseri, ad quæ majorum decreta provocabimus? Ad solum tum Christum refugiemus, Christi tum solius præsidio verboque utemur. Quapropter ne simus animo tam securo in re tanta. Agitur vita, agitur anima, agitur salus nostra. Pater cœlestis offert se nobis, et ultro occurrit. Jesus Christus inclamat, et appellat unumquemque nostrum: Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis, et ego reficiam vos. Quam cæci sumus si non videmus, stupidi si non intelligimus, miseri si fugimus! Ubi autem audietur Christi verbum, si a Christianis audiri non possit? Si a Christianis audiri non possit, ubi audietur? Aperiamus aliquando, fratres, aperiamus oculos, ne in contumaciam nostram dici possit, Propterea vos non auditis, quia non estis ex Deo: neve in nos conveniat dictum illud Esaiæ, Incrassatum est cor populi hujus, et auribus graviter audierunt, et oculos suos compresserunt, ne quando videant oculis, et auribus audiant, et corde intelligant, et convertantur, et sanem eos. Et de verbo Dei, apud homines Christianos et filios Dei, non equidem video quid plura dicam.

Nunc id superest quod ultimo loco erat positum, quemadmodum scripturæ docendæ sint. Non enim prudentia tantum et fides, sed etiam prudentia cautioque, adhibenda est: Eoque Petrus, non loquatur, inquit, tantum, sed loquatur ut sermones Dei. Neque tamen satis est, profiteri tantum et præ nobis ferre, Dei evangelium esse quod docemus, et vero vultu serioque occinere verbum Domini: id enim Judæi, Turcæ, pseudoprophetæ faciunt, omnes enim Christum suum esse clamitant, et veram religionem ad se retrahunt. Horum etiam temporum Pharisæi et scribæ, cum sua commenta statuunt, et omnia ad apostolos autores referunt, et vim inferunt verbo Dei, tamen nihil vel sæpius, vel importunius occlamant, quam verbum Domini. Verum simulationem et hypocrisin Christus non docuit. Id potius agit, ut pastores meminerint Christi personam sustinere: ut rei ipsius magnitudine ac

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dignitate inducti, munus suum ita reverenter administrent, ut omnes intelligant cœleste negotium esse quod susceperint. Nam in ministro Dei, Dei oportet ipsius imaginem relucere. Quod ni ita se apostoli gessissent, nunquam illi religionis initia constituissent: nunquam relictis, quisquam, et aris, et sacris, et focis, et diis ipsis, in aliquot piscatorum sententiam concessisset. Omnia illi sua pro nihilo ducebant præ Christo Jesu. Cum maledictis jactarentur, non regerebant maledicta, cum carceribus et ignibus damnarentur, nunquam intermittebant gratias agere, semper efferebantur gaudio, quod propter Christum omni suppliciorum genere afficerentur. Ea erat in illis æquitas animorum, ea modestia, ea virtus, ut quicquid dixissent, alios puderet refragari. Sic, fratres, nostram vitam lucere oportuit, ut quoties loquimur, loqui videamur sermones Dei. Nos enim sumus sal terræ, nos sumus lux mundi, nos civitas illa sumus in monte posita, omnium in nobis oculi figuntur: quicquid a nobis geritur, id statim in exemplum trahitur. Onus longe difficillimum et maximum est, quod suscepimus. Hoc si omnes diligenter expenderemus, non ita evangelii cursus impediretur, non ita negligeretur verbum Dei. Nam cum Deum ore quidem profitemur, factis autem negamus, multitudinem imperitam a religione nostro exemplo deterremus, et rem unam omnium divinissimam impuris, non manibus, sed moribus contaminamus. Ita nostra causa pietas despicitur, nostra causa veritas contemnitur, nostra causa Dei majestas imminuitur. Hæc nobis, fratres, diligenter animadvertenda, et serio curanda sunt. Nam si turpiter et flagitiose vivimus, et in suggestum nihil nisi linguæ volubilitatem adferimus et impudentiam, quicquid loquimur, non loquimur, vel ut oportuit, vel tanquam sermones Dei.

Sed ut verbum Domini pro dignitate tractetur, duo nobis in primis cavenda sunt: alterum ne timore debilitemur, alterum ne laudis partem aliquam nobis ex evangelio decerpamus. Adversus utrumque concionatoris animum paratum et diligenter munitum esse oportet. Nam evangelium et verbum Dei, nisi fortiter magnoque animo asseratur, nec evangelium videbitur esse, nec Dei verbum. Error enim timidus, supplex, meticulosus est, omnia formidat, omnia extimescit, aspectum et lucem fugit: veritas autem, et veritas evangelii Jesu Christi, nunquam se demittit, nunquam cuiquam adula-

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tur, nihil simulat, nihil fingit, intrepida, libera, erecta, excelsa est. Quapropter dum verum dicimus, nulla nos cujusquam vis et autoritas perterrefaciat. Meminerimus nos Dei legatos esse, meminerimus Deum nobis fecisse dicendi potestatem. Quos enim nobis animos non facit Christus, cum se injuriarum nostrarum ultorem et vindicem fore pollicetur? Qui vos, inquit, spernit, me spernit; qui vos lædit, lædit aciem oculi mei. Quare loquamur, non dissimulanter, non obscure, ut Pharisæi, sed libere, ac aperte ut autoritate præditi, quemadmodum proferri par est sermones Dei.

Sed adhibenda tamen est moderatio, ne importune aliorum nomen et famam traducamus. Tum enim convitiari videbimur, et causam nostram facere potius, quam docere verbum Domini. Servum autem Dei modestum et consideratum esse decet, neque temere quicquam aut petulanter effutire; ne non e sacro suggestu, sed e plaustro loqui, neve evangelium, sed veterem comœdiam excitasse videamur.

Proximum est, ne quid concionator de se magnifice sentiat, sed cogitet illud munus a Deo sibi divinitus contigisse, ut diligenter, summoque cum timore officio defungatur, cogitetque, se in negotio non suo versari, sed Dei. Sic Paulus se nihil esse dicit: Joannes se indignum esse clamat, qui calceos Messiæ detrahat: eoque ad minuendam arrogantiam in sacris literis, non principes, non magistratus, non præsules, non reges, sed dispensatores, villici, præcones, ministri, servi appellantur, ut quoniam alieno auspicio res gerimus, ne de aliena laude insolescamus. Non enim idcirco Dominus nobis talentum suum concredidit, ut illud in rem nostram converteremus. Non enim nos ingenii nostri præcones esse voluit, sed voluntatis suæ, neque aliam ob causam circumferimus hunc thesaurum in vasis fictilibus, quam ut splendor sit virtutis Dei.

Non morabor vos pluribus. Audistis concionatori et assidue, et e verbo Dei, et graviter modesteque dicendum esse. Nos, fratres, concionatores aut sumus, aut esse volumus: meminerimus ad nos ista pertinere, et D. Petrum nobis dicere, Qui loquitur, loquatur tanquam sermones Dei. Opus est, non tantum sedulitate nostra, sed etiam prudentia et fide. Quare quicquid a natura, quicquid a consilio, quicquid ab ingenio possumus, id omne ad Christi ecclesiam conferamus.

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Nos sumus dispensatores domus Dei: ne Domini familiam dissipemus. Si apostoli Dei sumus, præstemus animos apostolicos. Si fratres Christi sumus, Christum audiamus, pascamus agnos, pascamus oves, eamus, prædicemus, doceamus. Mundus universus Christum videtur jamdudum parturire. Circumferamus oculos, fratres. Quanta ubique messis est, messores quam pauci! Hæc autem ad eos dico, in quibus aliquid est bonæ spei. Si qui autem sunt, qui ista rideant, quid eos me sperem audituros, qui Christum ipsum non audiunt? Moveat nos fratrum nostrorum calamitas, moveat nos Dei execratio: Maledictus qui procurat opus Domini negligenter. Moveat nos gravissima interminatio: Sanguinem illorum de manu tua requiram. Paremus nos ad suavissimam illam Christi vocem, Euge, serve, ingredere. Loquamur opportune, importune; loquamur verbum Domini, loquamur tanquam sermones Dei, ut in omnibus celebretur Deus per Jesum Christum, cui sit gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum.

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A LEARNED AND GODLY SERMON,

Made in the Latin tongue, in St. Mary's in Oxenford, upon the Sunday after the Ascension, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, by the famous and excellent Clerk, Master JEWEL, late Bishop of Sarisbury, and done into English by R. V.[1]

1 PET. iv. 11.

If any man speak, let him talk as the words of God.

BRETHREN beloved in Christ, I have chosen these words chiefly out of that epistle of St. Peter, which are accustomed to be read unto the people this day, because that whereas I must preach in Latin according to the custom of this place and time, the same in mine opinion seemed to belong properly to this assembly. The which, that they may be plainlier and better understood of you all, I must repeat a few words from the beginning of this whole epistle. Wherefore we must call to mind, because in those first times Christian religion was shut out every where, as pernicious to men's souls, and an infection of commonwealths, and that it seemed great godliness to root out the bringers in of new religion; lest (I say) that Christian men, and those that were godly, should in that season utterly be discouraged, and cast away all hope, St. Peter doth so instruct them with this epistle, that they should consider no new or unwonted thing to have happened, that Christ himself hath suffered far bitterer and unworthier things, that they should not be faint-hearted; lastly, that the way to glory is by afflictions and crosses.

[1] [The translator was R. Vaux, vicar of High Easter in Essex. See Churton's Life of Dean Nowell, p. 252. In the title-page of 1609 these words are added: "Dedicated unto the Bishop of London, as appeareth in the Commentary of Master Calvin upon the Galatians, in English."]

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And to that purpose he warneth the people, by themselves, and the bishops also, what belongeth to each of them to take heed of. Concerning that which belongeth unto the people, he saith, that they have spent time enough before upon wickedness, and that now they ought to change their life with their religion.

That godliness is placed, not in outward show and titles, but in soundness of life, and innocency of manners. That it is an ill thing with mouth and tongue only to worship God, and to give our mind and soul to worship the devil; and to disagree from idolaters, not in life and manners, but in words and profession (only).

And because they had departed from the most ancient ordinances and laws of their forefathers, and that they, being but a few, had stirred all kind of men against them, he warneth them, that they yet would, in all kind of duties, practise charity among themselves, one toward another, lest they should be divided at any time by any dissension of minds or studies. That this is only the token of Jesus Christ, whereby the bond-slaves of the devil may be known from the children of GOD. That so it shall come to pass shortly, that all the whole world shall embrace the gospel and the heavenly doctrine, and that the enemies and the haters of the cross of Christ, whom godliness could not move, may through shame be overcome, and return to themselves. And the bishops he warneth, that in those most hard times, they see to their office with all diligence and care, and that they look about them diligently that the congregation take no harm. And that it is not a sporting matter, but a very great burthen that they have taken upon them. And therefore, if they preach at any time to the people, that they speak as the words of God, and that they so behave themselves, that others which hear them may think that they hear not men, but the messengers and interpreters of the word of God.

This is the portion of scripture that I judged most fit for this time and place. For because therefore that partly we are entered into the holy ministry, and partly, as I hope, we have already directed the course of our studies to that point, we shall be taught in this place, how this heavenly office is to be garnished, that our labour may in time to come be very

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profitable to the church of God, and the holy gospel be most largely spread abroad.

But that this may be done the more orderly, and lest I should wander or go out of course in my speaking, I think it good to touch these three points in few words: first, that a preacher should speak; secondly, what he should speak; thirdly, how he should speak: that it may be understanded; first, that he is scantly a good preacher, which never speaketh any thing to the congregation: secondly, that a preacher must set forth unto the people, not old wives' fables, but the word of God: and last of all, that that same word of God must be handled reverently and worthily, according to the dignity of the matter. But that God Almighty would lighten all your hearts and my voice with his Holy Spirit, and that some fruit may come hereof unto us all, I desire of you that you will help my weakness with your devout prayers.

First of all, I commend unto your devotion the universal church of Christ dispersed throughout the whole world, and, as now it falleth out, in many places miserably afflicted; and namely, this our church of England and Ireland, and in the same for our noble king Edward his majesty, his most noble sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, the privy council, the rulers ecclesiastical and political, and all the people of England, both universities, and chiefly this university of Oxenford, the chancellor, the vice-chancellor, the proctors, Robert Morvent[2], president of Corpus Christi college, doctor Raynolds[3], master of Merton college, and all the scholars in both these colleges. Ye shall give thanks unto God Almighty for king Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth, kings of noble memory, for Humfrey duke of Gloucester, &c. that of his infinite goodness he hath kindled those lights to the nourishing of good letters, and spreading abroad of religion: and ye shall pray, that it would please him to raise up others hereafter like unto these, and to gather us all to their society into the bosom of Abraham.

[2] [This name was in former editions erroneously printed Norvent. He was the second president of C. C. C. from 1537 to 1558.]

[3] [Also dean of Exeter, designed by queen Mary for the see of Hereford.]

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"Let him that speaketh speak as the words of God." To the end that the pith of these words may be the better understanded, because I must intreat both of pastors, and before pastors, I have used this division, to shew, first, that a pastor should speak often: next of all, that he should speak out of the holy scriptures: last of all, that he should speak gravely and modestly according to the worthiness of the matter. And surely concerning the office of pastors, as yet I see not sufficiently what I should speak, or not speak. For to speak that which hath been before so often spoken, were not only hateful, but out of season: and to speak nothing of so great sloth and dastardy of our times, I am much afraid might seem to shew a sluggard and a dastard. Truly, in this case, if the voice of the immortal God might be heard, there were no need at this time of my voice. For that I may say nothing beside, all the scriptures do sufficiently warn us of our duty; God himself hath commanded nothing at any time, either more often, or else with more weighty words, than that his people should be instructed to know him, themselves, and godliness. "Thou son of man," saith God, in Esay, "cry and cease not; cry out aloud, lift up thy voice as a trumpet, and shew unto my people their wickedness." How oft doth Christ cry, "Go ye, teach ye, preach ye the gospel to every creature?" "Woe unto me," saith the prophet, "because I have kept silence." "Woe unto me," saith Paul, "if I preach not the gospel." But such is either our security or daintiness: beside that, we have stopped our ear against wholesome counsel, that we account it as a reproach if a man warn us of our duty. Nevertheless, whatsoever it seemeth to us, this hath seemed to God a help both very firm and very great to the making up of his church. For so hath God brought us out of darkness into light, so hath he restored us, being dead, unto life; so hath he brought us, being prisoners and captives, out of hell into heaven; so hath he broken the powers of the devil; so hath he brought us back again into his own power and dominion; so hath he spread abroad the fame of his name into all lands. For if Christ, if the apostles, if the prophets had held their peace, in what case had we now been in? What religion had there been anywhere? what worship of God had there been? That we

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behold the light, that we have escaped out of bondage, that we are accounted and be the sons of God; all that (I say) we owe unto the preaching of the word of God. Let us not deceive ourselves, brethren, let us not deceive ourselves. Our matters are not so firmly established, that they cannot fall. Except we take heed, except we look about, except we put to study and diligence, all things will easily slide and fall into their former estate. A lamp, except you put oil oft in it, will soon be out. The victory is kept even by such means as it is gotten.

For what engines doth not the devil now use, what crafts doth he not practise, what way doth he not take, to overthrow the church of God? He keepeth scout-watch always: he is never wearied; he hath brought in so many vices, so much ignorance, so great blindness, that there is no place in which a preacher ought to be idle. And as, if the sun were taken away from the world, all things should be left dark, disparkled, and confounded; so if the voice of the pastor be taken out of the church, religion is left at six and seven; it is left blind, troubled; all things are mingled with error, superstition, and idolatry: of so great weight is it to be a steward of the house of God. The gospel, religion, godliness, the health of the church, dependeth of us alone. This is our office, this we take upon us, and this we profess. And except we do this, we do nothing, we serve to no use. It is not enough to know I wot not what learning. The devils perhaps know more than any of us all. It belongeth unto a pastor not so much to have learned many things, as to have taught much. Let it shame us, that the basest kind of men, even cobblers and porters, do that which belongeth unto them, and we, which ought to give light to all other, are idle, and do nothing. For God would not have us idle bellies, but he would have us both be interpreters of his mind, ministers of Jesus Christ, attornies of the people before the Lord of Sabaoth, the light of the world, salt, angels, and the sons of God, and so to be called: and we are appointed to govern, not dumb cattle, not wild beasts, but the flock of the Lord, but the sons of God, but the brethren of Christ.

If any of these shall perish through our default, his blood shall be required at our hands. If these things alone were

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still set before us, in our eyes and minds, we would not so cast from us, carelessly and unadvisedly, the safeguard of our brethren and of ourselves; we would not so cast from us the blood of Christ.

There is no cause why any should say, We speak to them that are deaf; the people give no ear; we labour for them which are unthankful; we prevail not, we cast that which is holy unto dogs, we give pearls to swine. We know that otherwhile these things are truly spoken; and it grieveth me exceedingly, that they may be so truly spoken against those that be Christian men. Yet for all this, we may not therefore hold our peace, but speak so much the oftener, so much the sharper, so much the hotter. For look how much the disease is more perilous, so much the more needeth there a physician.

Neither can we justly complain of the people's stubbornness, while we ourselves do all the while nothing. Let us do our endeavour, and leave the success unto the Lord. Then shall they, if they be of so froward a mind that they will not hear, die in their own sin. But there is no cause why we should be in despair of the people's salvation. God himself husbanded the vine, which for grapes brought out wild grapes. God himself hath all the day long stretched out his hands to a rebellious and overthwart people. How oft hath Christ himself said: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen gathereth together her chickens," whereas they turned away their ears and would not hear! This malady will easily be taken away, if the medicine therefore be used. Let us bring forth the light, and God will open their eyes: let us beat at their ears, and God will give them a heart of flesh: let us give the word, and God will give the Spirit: let us plant and water, and God in due time will give the increase. For as it is our duty to instruct the people with words, so it belongeth to God to join unto his words faith and force. Such is the strength of the word of God, that to work nothing, or to profit none, it is not possible. Much will fall into the bushes, into the beaten way, and among stones, yet some will fall into good ground, and bring forth fruit. For look, "as the rain cometh

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down from heaven, and returneth not thither again, but moisteneth and watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth, and giveth seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth: so my word, saith the Lord, which goeth forth out of my mouth, shall not return empty unto me, but shall do whatsoever I will."

But because it is not enough to speak, let us now consider that which, in the second place, I have promised, namely, what is to be spoken. For some otherwhile speak, who had been better have held their peace; other some, while they make a noise, and cry out with great contention, speak to no purpose. Wherefore regard must be had, that we neither speak unfruitfully, ne yet hurtfully. For all things are not to be huddled out in a sermon before the multitude. We must take care, what the religious silence of the people, what the reverence of the place, what the greatness of our office do require. The truth must be spoken, not lies: the scriptures, not fables: the precepts of the highest God, and not the dreams of men: for religion is to be ordered not by our judgment, but by the word of God. Wherein if we shall hearken to Moses, or to the prophets, or the apostles, or Christ, or the Father himself, we shall not much go out of the way. For Moses, whatsoever was to be said or done in so great a wilderness, when he led the people, being banished and wandering, by a savage and desert region, always asked counsel at the Lord; he never brought them any thing of his own head. The prophets always say, "The word of the Lord, The vision of the Lord, The voice of the Lord, This saith the Lord, Hear the Lord." "I," saith Paul, "have received my gospel not of man, neither by man." And again: "I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and the same crucified." And again: "If an angel from heaven shall teach another gospel than that which you have learned, let him be cursed." Christ saith: "All things which I have heard of my Father, I have delivered unto you:" and, "Preach you," saith he, (not whatsoever shall come in your head, but) "the gospel to all creatures." And, whenas the Pharisees and Sadducees had moved the questions of divorcement, and the resurrection of the dead unto life, he never had recourse unto the rabbins, but always to the word of the Lord. God the Father

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crying from heaven, " This," saith he, " is my dearly beloved Son." He saith not, Hear your fathers, your grandfathers, or your great grandfathers; but he saith, " Hear him, even him." For our heavenly Father would have his Son and his word to be taught and to be beat into men's heads in all places. And certainly it may not be doubted of by any man, but that that which the most excellent, most wise, and most loving Father hath given unto us for our cause, is most excellent, most wise, and to our reasons most profitable. This is that river of water flowing abroad into life everlasting. This is that flesh, this is that blood of Jesus Christ, this is that only both most delicate and most wholesome food of our souls: with this only sword the devil is overcome; with this only stone Goliath is laid along; with this only maul the roughness and hardness of hearts is softened and overcome. And were it not for this, neither could religion flourish, nor faith be confirmed, or the church kept within the limits of her duty. Call to remembrance, I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that as oft as the word of the Lord languished, how often, and into how many grievous errors, and how great a breakneck evil did the whole people fall into! how oft despised they the mightiest and most loving God, their preserver and Father! how oft worshipped they Ashtaroth, Belial, the sun, the moon, calves and beasts, and turned away themselves from all religion and godliness, and put their whole hope and confidence in things most vain and filthy! For whenas every one hatched out of his own mind a religion and holiness unto himself, superstition and such a multitude of new gods increased so suddenly, that the prophet was informed to cry out, " Your gods are in number as many as your cities." For whenas they had forsaken the truth, life, and religion, what remained but that they should fall headlong into lies, into destruction, into ungodly worshippings? I had rather make mention of these old things, than to bring in examples which are fresh and in memory. There is none of us that ever was so blind that he saw not, or so blockish that he understood not the calamities of former times. We have far gone beyond not only the superstition and vanity of the Jews, but also of the Egyptians and Grecians. For when the authority of councils, and the conspiracy of a few bishops

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and monks, was placed above the scriptures; when it was doubted whether the Romish bishop were a man or a god, and whether he could sin; when all things were referred to the constitutions of men, and nothing to the knowledge of Christ; when sales of pardons, vows, and masses, were made openly and without all shame; when the sacraments were miserably torn in pieces; when the word of God was condemned of fraud and heresy; when nothing was left sound and pure from superstition; when error possessed all things, and the truth could not be heard; where then, or what church of God was there? It was heresy in those days, not that disagreed from the scriptures, but from that which liked a few bishops. For the gospel was thrust into corners; nothing was left to the judgment of Christ. Our gods were not then according to the number of our cities, but they were as many as we had streets, yea almost houses. So were all things utterly out of frame; for that religion depended not on the word of God, but on the will of man. These horrible cases, brethren, may warn us, that we never unadvisedly depart from the word of God. And thereof it is that all the scriptures do move us so often and so diligently, that we neither add any thing to the word of God, nor take ought therefrom; nor that we bow to the right hand, or the left. Neither would the Lord that we should be princes and judges, but messengers and ministers of his word. For look what serveth to our salvation, and unto godliness, all that hath God himself set down in his laws. For the "holy scripture," (as Paul saith,) "inspired by God, is profitable to doctrine, to reproof, to correction, to instruction; that the man of God may be perfect, instructed to every good work:" that the man of God, saith he, may be perfect and sound, and, as far as is requisite either to godliness or manners, that he should in every respect be perfectly furnished. And now, I pray you, what should God's ambassador bring forth unto God's people, rather than the word of God? He that is an ambassador in civil affairs, if perhaps he say any thing beside that which is commanded him, he is accused that he hath not done his embassage rightly; he is called to his trial, he is arraigned upon life and death: and why do not we with like fidelity

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handle the word of God? But too too, good God, too too secure a mind, my brethren, too too secure a mind be we of. And as though men alone could not be deceived, so do we hold, so do we defend that alonely, which is come from our forefathers. There were among the Jews many murderers, thieves, and adulterers, and yet did not Christ inveigh either more often or more bitterly against any, than against the Pharisees and Scribes: "You break," saith he, "the commandment of God for your own traditions. In vain do you worship me, teaching doctrines and the precepts of men." "They are blind guides of the blind." "Harlots and sinners shall go into the kingdom of God before you." How often, and with what words, doth the Lord in the prophets complain of this! "Be astonished, ye heavens," saith he: "my people have done two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves broken cisterns, which can hold no waters." "What is chaff compared with wheat?" What is the rashness of men compared with the eternal will of God? For Basil doth say, that that man which dareth put to, or take away any thing from the scriptures of God, is either a feeble Christian or a notable arrogant fellow. To put to the word of God the inventions of men, what other thing may it seem, than to mingle new wine, not with old wine, but with wine that is dead, and with lees or dregs? and to join light with darkness, a wild beast with a man, a man with God? "My thoughts are not your thoughts, nor my ways are not your ways, saith the Lord: for look how far the heaven is from the earth, so far are my ways from your ways, and my thoughts from your thoughts." Nay, rather look how far a man is distant from God, so far is the understanding of man distant from the word of God.

For although very much, by the judgment of all men, is to be given to the fathers, yet were they men, and also might err. Truly, to speak nothing else of them, they did oftentimes very ill agree among themselves about very great and weighty matters. But the word of God is sure, and firm, and certain, and appointed for every time. Peter would have this kind of learning to be delivered unto the people in

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a sermon. And he that will have doings (herein) with the people, must first be instructed himself with the word of God, that he may utter the word as inspired with an heavenly power. O, if Peter were now alive, what would he say, or rather what would he not say, seeing that religion, godliness, the scriptures, are all passed into the inventions and dreams of men? That is only in question at these days, whether the customs of men are rather to be retained, or the laws of God: that alone hath moved these turmoils, that hath stirred the whole world, whether more credit is to be given unto a man, or unto God. I know that these things seem new to the most of you, and not to be believed: but put from you, I beseech you, your affections, and that opinion of things which you have already conceived, and you shall well perceive that I feign nothing for the times' sake, but that I speak the thing itself. Christ hath ordained the holy communion in remembrance of himself. Men do neither retain any remembrance of Christ, nor yet communion, but have changed all the whole matter into a gay show, and almost a stage play. Christ saith, "Ye shall have the poor always with you, but me ye shall not have always: I leave the world, and go to my Father: it is expedient for you that I go away." And Christ spake this, not of his Godhead, wherewith he was equal to the Father, or of his heavenly nature, but of his body. Men say, that Christ neither hath with his body left the world, nor yet gone from hence to his Father. Paul saith, that Christ is in heaven at the right hand of the Father. Peter saith, in the Acts of the Apostles, "Heaven must hold him until the time that all things are restored:" men say, that the body of Christ is in heaven and in earth both at once, and is dispersed into an infinite multitude of places at one time. Paul saith, that Christ hath once entered into the holy places, and hath with one only sacrifice, and one oblation, made perfect all things: men say, that they can sacrifice Christ himself again every day, not only for remembrance sake, but in very deed, and that in infinite places. Christ saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" men worship the eucharist, alack the while! being neither Lord nor God, but a sacrament of the Lord;

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without authority of the scriptures, or example of the apostles, and that as God. For, by the living God I beseech you, consider in your minds, brethren, who ever, I will not say of the apostles, but of the holy fathers, hath either worshipped the sacrament himself, or hath shewed it forth to be worshipped of others? I see that I speak these things not before the common sort of men, but before them who are profoundly learned, I appeal to all your consciences, I will use in this matter your own testimony. Christ hath commanded the sacrament to be delivered whole: men have torn the same after a miserable manner. Christ willed that nothing should be added to his law: men do not only add many things, but the same they prefer before the word of God. But why should I reckon up more? This only will I speak, and that in a word, they which brought in transubstantiations, masses, calling upon saints, sole life, purgatory, images, vows, trifles, follies, bables, into the church of God, have delivered new things, and which the scriptures never heard of. Whatsoever they cry or crake, they bring not a jot out of the word of God. And these, as I have said, are the things wherewith the church of God at these days are disquieted. Upon these lieth the watch and ward of the church. These they honour instead of the scriptures, and force them to the people instead of the word of God: upon these, men suppose their salvation and the sum of religion to be grounded. And that which is much more grievous, notwithstanding at this present by the great goodness of God, religion is restored almost to her former dignity and light, yet, poor and pitiful souls, they set great store by these things, they to them again, and teach them, as though without them the church could not be in safety. O if the word of the Lord might be heard, among so many clamours, and in so great a hurly-burly; if we would suffer God himself to sit as judge in his own case, the matter would be passed over with less tumult a great deal, and more easily might we agree about the whole matter. Wherefore if all the worship of God, all godliness, all religion, be to be sought out of the word of God: if the institutions of men have miserably perverted all things in all times, let us, my brethren,

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unto whom the office of teaching is allotted, consider how dangerous a thing it is to speak more: and let all, who will be, and will have themselves accounted to be Christians, remember how dangerous a thing it is to believe more. And if there be any of this whole number which hath given himself to any other kind of life, yet let him consider that these things belong unto him, so that if he neither can nor will teach, yet let him diligently and attentively hear him that speaketh, and give God thanks, that he hath happened on those times, in which he may hear the word of God freely and purely. Let us not be wedded too much to our own wit: let us not be wedded too much to the fathers and forefathers. Let us not unadvisedly think that men are so luckily born, that whatsoever they say, they cannot err. When we shall be placed before that dreadful judgment-seat, when all things shall burn, and the angels of God shall tremble, to what fathers, to what decrees of our forefathers, shall we wretches then appeal? We shall then have refuge to Christ alone, then shall we use the aid and word of Christ alone. Wherefore let us not be of so secure a mind in so great a matter. Our life, our soul, our salvation, is the thing in hand. The heavenly Father offereth himself unto us, and of his own accord meeteth us: Jesus Christ crieth out, and calleth every one of us, "Come unto me, all ye which are grieved, and I will refresh you." How blind be we if we see not, how blockish if we understand not, how miserable if we run from this? Where shall the word of Christ be heard, if it cannot be heard among Christians? If it cannot be heard among Christians, where shall it be heard? Let us once yet open, brethren, let us open our eyes, that it may not be spoken against our stubbornness, Therefore you hear not, because you be not of God: and that that saying of Esaias be not conveniently applied against us, "The heart of this people is waxen gross, and they have hardly heard with their ears, and they have closed their eyes, lest they should at any time see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and they should be converted, and I should heal them." And what I should speak more before Christian men and the children of God, concerning the word of God, I see not.

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Now remaineth that which was put in the last part, namely, how the scriptures are to be taught. For not only wisdom and fidelity, but also wisdom and foresight is to be used. Therefore sayeth Peter, Let him not speak only, but let him speak as the words of God. Nor yet is it sufficient to profess only, and outwardly to shew, that it is the word of God which we teach, and with a fair face and earnest countenance sing, The word of the Lord: for the Jews, and Turks, and false prophets do so, they all cry out that Christ is theirs, and they all restrain true religion (as belonging) unto themselves. The Pharisees and Scribes of these days, when they confirm their own inventions, and refer all things to the apostles as their authors, and do wrest the word of God, yet do they cry nothing either oftener or more importunately than, The word of the Lord. But Christ hath not taught dissimulation and hypocrisy. He rather teacheth this, that pastors may have in mind that they represent the person of Christ: that they, being induced through the greatness and worthiness of the thing itself, may so reverently do their office, that all men may perceive, that it is a heavenly business which they have taken upon them. For the image of God himself must shine in him that is the minister of God. And if the apostles had not so used themselves, they had never laid the foundations of religion: there would never any have left their altars, their sacrifices, their fires, and their gods themselves, to have been of the opinion of a few fishers. They counted all that they had as nothing, in comparison of Christ Jesus. When they were taunted, they taunted not again, when they were condemned to prisons and fires, they never ceased to give thanks, they always greatly rejoiced, for that they were afflicted with all manner of punishments for Christ his sake. There was in them such uprightness of heart, such modesty, such virtue, that whatsoever they said, others were ashamed to speak against it. Even so, brethren, our life ought to shine, that as oft as we speak, we may seem to speak the words of God. For we are the salt of the earth, we are the light of the world, we are that city set upon the hill, all men's eyes are fastened on us: whatsoever we do, straightway example is taken to do the like. It is a burden of great difficulty and weight, that

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we have taken upon us. Which if we would all well weigh, the course of the gospel would not be so hindered, the word of God would not be so much neglected. For when as we profess God with our mouth, but deny him with our deeds, we fray away the unlearned multitude by our example from religion, and the thing that of all other is most divine, we defile, not with unpure hands, but with unpure manners. So for our sakes is godliness despised, for our sake is the truth contemned, for our sake is the majesty of God impaired. These things, brethren, are diligently to be considered, and earnestly to be regarded of us. For if we live filthily and wickedly, and bring into the pulpit. nothing but a rolling of the tongue and impudency, whatsoever we speak, we speak it not, either as it should, or else as the words of God. But to the end the word of the Lord may be handled according to the worthiness thereof, two things principally are by us to be taken heed of: the one, that we be not weakened nor feebled by fear: the other, that out of the gospel we reap no jot or piece of praise unto ourselves. A preacher's mind must be prepared and diligently fenced against either of these. For the gospel and the word of God, except it be stiffly and manfully upholden and maintained, neither will seem the gospel, nor the word of God. For error is fearful, base, and quaking, it feareth all things, it dreadeth all things, it flieth sight and light: but the truth, and the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, never abaseth itself, never flattereth any, dissembleth nothing, feigneth nothing, is unfearful, free, bold to shew her face, and high. Wherefore as long as we speak the truth, let not the force or authority of any man make us afraid. Let us call to mind that we are the messengers and ambassadors of God. Let us call to mind that God hath given us power to speak. For what courage doth not Christ make us, when he promiseth that he will be the revenger of the injury done unto us? "He," saith he, "that despiseth you, despiseth me, he which hurteth you, hurteth the sight of mine eye:" wherefore let us speak, not dissemblingly, not darkly, as did the Pharisees, but freely and plainly as having authority, as meet it is, that the words of God should be uttered. But nevertheless moderation must be used, that we do not unseasonably touch or spot the good name and fame

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of others: for then we shall seem to taunt or rail, and to handle our own cause, rather than to teach the word of the Lord. But it becometh the servant of the Lord to be modest and circumspect, not to blab out any thing rashly or cockishly, lest we may seem to speak not out of the holy pulpit, but out of the cart; neither yet to have cited the gospel, but to have brought up again the old manner of comedies. The next thing is, that a preacher have not too great a conceit of himself, but that he think that that function and office happened unto him from above from God, that he should discharge his duty diligently, and with very great fear, and that he should think that he is occupied not in his own business, but in God's business. So Paul saith, he is nothing: John crieth, that he is unworthy to pull off the shoes of Messias: and therefore to abate arrogancy, they are in the holy scriptures called not princes, not magistrates, not rulers, not kings, but stewards, bailiffs, preachers or criers, ministers, servants, to the end that, forasmuch as we do this gear in the behalf of another, we should not grow proud for another body's praise. For the Lord hath not therefore committed his talent unto us, that we should convert it to our own commodity. For he would not have us preachers and criers of our own wit and skill, but of his will, neither do we for any other cause carry about this treasure in earthen vessels, than for that it should be the brightness and clear light of the power of God.

I will not stay you with any more words. Ye have heard, that a preacher must speak both oft, and out of the word of God, and also gravely and modestly. We, brethren, either are preachers, or will be preachers: let us bear in mind that these things belong to us, and that St. Peter saith to us, "He that speaketh, let him speak as the words of God." There is need not only of our diligence, but also of prudency and fidelity; wherefore whatsoever we are able by nature, whatsoever by counsel, whatsoever by wit and cunning, let us bestow it all to serve the church of God. We are the stewards of the house of God, let us not dissipate and scatter the household of God. If we be the apostles of God, let us shew apostolic minds. If we be the brethren of Christ, let us hear Christ, let us feed his lambs, let us feed his sheep, let

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us go, let us preach, let us teach. The universal world seemeth a good while since to travail of Christ, let us cast about our eyes, brethren. How great is the harvest everywhere! how few be the reapers! And this I speak unto them of whom there is some good hope. If there be any, that laugh at these things, or mock them, why should I hope that they will hear me, who will not hear Christ himself? Let the calamity of our brethren move us, let the curse of God move us, (namely,) "Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently:" let that most grievous threatening move us, (namely,) "Their blood will I require at thy hand." Let us prepare ourselves to that most sweet voice and speech of Christ, (namely,) "Well done, servant, go in." Let us speak in season and out of season, let us speak the word of the Lord, let us speak as the words of the Lord, that God's praise may be set forth in all things by Jesus Christ, unto whom be glory and impery for ever and ever. Amen.

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A PAPER ON USURY[1],

FOUND IN BISHOP JEWEL'S STUDY[2].

Quæstio. AN quicquid ex pacto supra sortem accipitur ab eo qui mutuo dat pecuniam, mercatori illicitum fœnus sit, quamvis non quærat lucrum, nisi ex lucro, idque animo mercatoris?

Responsio Joannis Juelli. Imo fœnerator sæpe etiam ex jactura lucrum quærit, non tantum ex lucro.

A. B. Contractum de quo quæritur, licitum puto, quia nec primæ tabulæ repugnat, nec secundæ.

Jo. Juellus. Ego contra, usuram omnibus legibus divinis, humanis, civilibus, canonicis, novis, veteribus, Christianis, ethnicis, video diserte prohiberi, nulla autem lege, aut hominum constitutione approbari. Itaque hoc genus contractuum non puto esse licitum.

A. B. Nam quod ad primam tabulam attinet, nullum Dei mandatum extare puto, quo prohibeantur homines ejusmodi contractum exercere, in quo unus materiam lucri, alter operam suam præstet, modo omnia honestis artibus fiant. Nec discrimen ponendum arbitror in materia, sive ager locetur, sive domus, sive denique pecunia ad mercaturam exercendam interveniat. Nam ut mihi quidem videtur, materiæ diversitas non facit diversam contractus naturam: quamvis certis et quidem justis de causis jurisconsulti subtilius ista distinxerint, apud quos aliud est locatio, quam societas, aut mutuum.

[1] ["Annotationes quasdam, sive "breves propositiones de usura, in "ipsius musæo post obitum reper- "tas, placuit evulgare: ubi lector "intelliget ad quandam principalem "quæstionem duas adversarias, et "acutas, et succinctas responsiones. "Alteri, quia author est incertus, "litteras A. B. apponemus, in al- "tera erit Joannes Juellus." *Humf. Vita Juelli*, p. 217.]

[2] [See bishop Jewel's views on usury in his Treatise on 1 Thess. iv. 6. Supra, vol. vii. pp. 63—81: also the Editor's note, p. 63 ibid.]

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Jo. Juellus. Alienum erat hoc loco (ut mihi quidem videtur) verba facere de prima tabula. Nam ea religionem tantum continet et cultum Dei, usura autem proprie refertur ad proximum. Tamen fœnerator cum aperte fratrem lædit, et sciens, prudensque peccat in secundam tabulam, non obscure etiam peccat in primam, hoc est in Deum authorem utriusque tabulæ. Sed miror tam doctum virum, cum usuram probare vellet, nihil adferre voluisse (non enim dico non potuisse) ex sacris literis, præsertim cum nescire non possit, multos esse hodie, qui putent eam ubique in omnibus scripturis condemnari. Nam dictata hominis, quantumvis sapientis, non possunt habere authoritatem verbi Dei. Institutionem autem vitæ Christianæ, ad conjecturas et obscuras quasdam collectiones revocare, nescio an sit illorum hominum, qui pollicentur se, nec ad sinistram, nec ad dextram velle flectere, sed illud tantum amplecti ac sequi velle, quod Deus jusserit.

A. B. Quod autem attinet ad secundam tabulam, ad quam etiam proprie ista respiciunt, mihi sane videtur ejusmodi contractu non modo non lædi quenquam, sed vehementer etiam juvari hominum societatem, si modo certis limitibus definiatur, de quibus mox dicam.

Jo. Juellus. Atqui aliter semper visum est, non tantum Christianis hominibus, sed etiam ethnicis. Nam ut alios taceam, veteres Romani non minus fœneratorem horrebant, quam homicidam aut furem. Majores nostri, inquit Marcus Cato de re rustica, furem condemnabant dupli, fœneratorem quadrupli. Et interrogatus, quid esset fœnerari, Quid, inquit, hominem occidere? Si sapientes putassent hoc pacto tantopere juvari posse hominum societatem, certe in scribendis legibus, et constituendis rebuspublicis, rationem ita commodam et privatim publiceque utilem non omisissent: illis enim societas hominum summæ semper fuit curæ.

A. B. Nam quæ in verbo Dei dicuntur contra fœneratores, huc non pertinent. Fœnus enim, (quod ab Hebræis Nesek, id est, morsus, dicitur, et verbo Dei damnatur,) tum demum exercetur, cum pecunia datur alicui mutuo, ut et sortem, et aliquid supra sortem quoquo jure exigam. In ea vero specie quæ nobis proposita est, non proprie datur pecunia mutuo, sed societas quædam initur, in qua unus faciendæ mercaturæ

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pecuniam ad emendas merces, alter vero suam operam in commune lucrum confert.

Jo. Juellus. Sunt hodie multi viri non mali, qui verbo Dei prorsus omne genus usuræ damnari putant. Certe David ita prædicat virum bonum: Qui pecuniam suam, inquit, non dedit ad usuram: idque non tantum non pauperi, sed prorsus nulli. Et Christus in universum ait, Date mutuum, nihil inde sperantes. Quod si hæc, aliaque multa quæ contra usuram proferuntur ex verbo Dei, huc non pertinent, cur tu ex eodem illo verbo Dei non adfers ea pro usura quæ huc pertinent? Cur planum non facis ex scripturis, licere ita pacisci cum mercatore, aut cum divite, ut pecuniam tuam repetas cum usura? Est quidem usura alia acerbior, alia mitior. Minus enim læditur dives mercator, qui ex fœnebri pecunia lucrum facit, quam pauper qui exeditur usuris, et ne sortem quidem potest reddere. Ego tamen spero doceri posse suo loco, in omni etiam moderatissima usura inesse morsum. Definitio quidem ea, quæ hic adfertur, recte congruit. Ita enim mercator mercatori dat pecuniam mutuo, ut quicquid acciderit, sive lucratus sis, sive jacturam feceris, quocunque jure, quacunque injuria, repetatur cum usura.

A. B. Illud igitur, id est, lucri causa fratrem lædere, quem tuo etiam cum damno tenearis juvare, plane repugnat charitati Christianæ, ideoque species est magnæ crudelitatis: a qua Christianos omnes oportet esse alienos.

Jo. Juellus. Scripturis pugnandum erat, non illis rationibus quæ nihil probent. Quæ enim est ista dialectica: Non licet usuras exigere a paupere, *ergo* licet exigere a divite? Nam eodem modo prorsus possis dicere, non licet affligere pauperem in judicio, *ergo* licet affligere divitem: atqui etiam pueri in scholis hoc sciunt, ex negativa non recte concludi affirmativam.

A. B. Hoc vero, e contrario, cum charitate prorsus consentit; quis enim hujusmodi contractu læditur? Nam respublica nullum damnum patitur, imo etiam juvatur, cum reipublicæ intersit, mercaturam honestam potius fieri, quam ut otiosa pecunia jaceat.

Jo. Juellus. Quis, inquis, læditur? Respondeo, Respublica; mercator enim qui pecunias accepit fœnore, cogitur merces suas tanto pluris vendere, et populus cogitur eas pluris

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emere. Itaque Chrysostomus recte dixit, fœneratorem communem esse hostem omnium. Ad hæc, unde hodie sunt tot mercatores obærati, nisi quod juvenes, dum student præpropere rem facere, ante involvuntur atque impediuntur usuris, quam possint emergere? Illi vero, postquam semel incipiunt ruere, alios sæpe multos viros bonos creditores suos secum rapiunt. Si hoc est juvare rempublicam, equidem non video, quid sit eam lædere. Jurisperiti quidem aiunt interesse reipublicæ, non ut quisque usurariam istam mercaturam faciat, sed ut quisque re sua recte, hoc est, ut ego interpretor, honeste et legitime utatur.

A. B. Qui vero pecunia utitur, is quoque conqueri non potest, cum pars lucri ad eum redeat.

Jo. Juellus. Redit ad eum, fateor, interdum aliquid, sed hoc pacto, ut dixi, rerum pretia augentur in immensum, et populus mordetur atque opprimitur. Leges autem non unius alicujus avari mercatoris cupiditati servire debent, sed saluti totius populi.

A. B. Denique qui pecuniam confert, quam alioqui jacere otiosam et sensim exhauriri oportuerat, fit hac ratione locupletior, ac proinde ad fratres juvandos magis idoneus.

Jo. Juellus. Certe quicquid aut debitori accidat, aut reipublicæ, solus fœnerator semper fit locupletior, sed iniquis et fœdis rationibus: ut solent, qui ex lenocinio, aut e furto rem faciunt. Sed ridiculum atque etiam acerbum est, multos opprimere ut unum juves. Nam quod additur, fœneratorem divitem ad fratres juvandos magis esse idoneum, nullum est genus hominum avarius, tenacius, sordidius, aut minus propensum vel ad sublevandos fratres, vel ad juvandam rempublicam.

A. B. Sed contra, objici solent nobis quædam, ex quibus probetur, et rempublicam lædi, et ei fieri injuriam qui pecunia utatur, atque adeo sic reddi securos homines et negligentes, quibus stertentibus opes crescant.

Jo. Juellus. Res ipsa utrumque loquitur. Est enim hæc et vetus, et publica, et verissima querimonia.

A. B. Rempublicam lædi aiunt, quoniam mercator hac ratione cogitur rarius merces suas vendere, ut et sibi, et alteri lucrum quærat. Respondeo, quærendum esse huic malo remedium, ideoque duo imprimis esse cavenda, quoad ejus fieri

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poterit: nempe ne cum homine improbo sit nobis negotium: deinde ne pecuniæ pensionem æquo majorem stipulemur, sed ejusmodi, ut probabile sit utrique posse honestam lucri partem accedere.

Jo. Juellus. Pulchre, sed quis quæret? ubi, quando, quo pacto, apud quos quæret? hoc scilicet est illud velle quærere, quod inveniri non possit. Non enim positum est in manu tua, quam ille vir probus sit quocum contrahas. Infinitæ enim sunt latebræ in animis hominum. De illa vero mediocri pensione, nescio an unquam possit conveniri.

A. B. Præterea, si ob hoc incommodum damnetur hic contractus, cur non etiam improbetur locatio? Nam certe si vel agrum, vel ædes alicui locavero qui sit improbior, vel cariori pretio quam par sit, eadem prorsus incommoda consequentur.

Jo. Juellus. Imo multum est discriminis. Nam locare semper licuit, fœnerari non licuit. Locare honeste potes, fœnerari honeste non potes. Ut autem recte damnatur iniqua locatio, ita recte damnatur iniqua mutatio [*l.* mutuatio]. Usura autem mutatio [*l.* mutuatio] iniqua est. Itaque usura non in universum cum locatione, sed cum iniqua tantum locatione conferri debet. Omnis autem iniqua locatio damnanda est, *ergo* omnis usura damnanda est. Additur, Si ædes locavero alicui qui sit improbior: hoc quid sit non intelligo. Improbitatem enim hoc loco non in conductore qui patitur injuriam, sed in iniquo locatore qui injuriam intulit, nec in eo qui pecunias accepit fœnori, sed in fœneratore qui dedit, reprehendimus.

A. B. Proxime vero aiunt, duabus in rebus fieri injuriam, primum quod ex alieno labore lucrum percipiat alius: secundo quia fit stipulatio certæ pecuniæ in omnem eventum, dum tamen mercaturæ sint incerti eventus, et in societate commune debeat esse periculum, ideoque non videatur licita stipulatio, in qua non etiam fiat damni communis mentio.

Jo. Juellus. Utrumque recte.

A. B. De priori sic respondeo, iniquius non esse, ut ego ex alieno labore lucrum percipiam, quam ut ille ex aliena pecunia fiat locupletior. Summam autem esse hujus contractus æquitatem in eo quod unus materiam, alter operam conferat, quo fit, ut, cum alter alterum juvet, merito quoque commune sit lucrum.

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Jo. Juellus. Si ita esset, societas esset, non usura: par autem esset ratio, si et creditor, et debitor subirent idem periculum. Non enim satis est ab altero materiam lucri præberi, ab altero conferri operam, nisi id ab utroque fiat eodem modo. Nunc autem alter sæpe et operam, et oleum perdit, alter securus et certus est, non tantum de sorte, sed etiam de fœnore. Itaque cum non proponatur utrique periculum commune, communeque lucrum, fit sæpe, ut alter alterum non juvet, sed opprimat, et in hoc contractu summa sit iniquitas.

A. B. Scio tamen objici posse, quod ait Aristoteles, contra naturam esse, ut pecunia pecuniam pariat; et illa quoque adferri posse, quæ dicunt jurisconsulti, debitorem non uti aliena pecunia, sed sua, quoniam in mutuo, id est in iis rebus quæ pondere, numero, vel mensura constant, mutuum dicatur, quod de meo fiat tuum. Sed has subtilitates nihil moror, quas etiam sperem me posse facile refutare, cum hunc contractum non dixerim mutuum non esse, sed societatis speciem, in qua unus materiam lucri, aut id certe ex quo materia lucri comparatur, alter vero operam confert, et charitatis regula postulat, ut communis beneficii sit communis ac reciproca compensatio.

Jo. Juel. Mirum est, id hominem Christianum non videre, quod ethnicus solo naturæ lumine imbutus viderit. Neque ita levis est Aristotelis authoritas, ut possimus eum, quasi qui inanes tantum subtilitates atque argutias sectatus sit, ita leviter ac contemptim rejicere. Vis autem rationis qua usus est Aristoteles ea est, ut vix putem ita facile posse refutari. Res enim aliæ ita natæ sunt, ut res alias possint procreare similes, ut bos bovem, caper caprum: aliæ autem sunt inertes, et stupidæ, quæ nihil procreant, ut lapis non generat lapidem, quod in eo non sit vis aliqua progenerandi. Nummus ergo non magis potest nummum procreare, quam mensa mensam, aut pluma plumam. Quod autem ad nomen *mutuum* attinet, ut leviter objicitur a jurisconsultis, ita hic leviter dissolvitur. Esto enim, non sit usura mutuum, sit species aliqua societatis. Non erat id in controversia: illud potius quæritur, an hoc genus societatis coire liceat? Sed quid hoc tandem argumenti est: Usura inter mercatores aut divites non est mutuum, *ergo* usura inter mercatores aut divites non est illicita.

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Semel, iterum, tertio inculcas ab altero materiam lucri conferri, ab altero industriam. Quis hoc nescire potest? aut quasi id magnopere ad rem faciat, aut quasi non etiam in fœdissimis contractibus idem interdum fieri soleat. Non quid fiat hoc loco quæritur, sed quid liceat. Sed charitatis regula, inquis, postulat, ut communis beneficii sit communis ac reciproca compensatio. Recte sane: fœneratores enim charitate ducuntur scilicet, non avaritia. Sed quid si debitor nihil lucratus sit, vel potius, quid si, ut fit, rem omnem amsierit? quæ tum regula charitatis statuet compensationem reciprocam?

A. B. De posteriori sic respondeo: quamvis incerti sunt eventus mercaturæ, tamen merito præsumitur potius lucrum, quam damnum: cum mercatores artis sint periti, minime sit probabile in damnum suum concessuros.

Jo. Juellus. Præsumitur lucrum, potius quam damnum, fortasse quia animo procliviores sumus ad bene sperandum: res tamen ipsa incerta semper est, et lubrica, et interdum casu magis regitur, quam prudentia. Quare cum eventus sit incertus, et societas ea pecuniæ, atque operæ sit communis, par est, mea quidem sententia, commune esse periculum. Alterum enim subire omnes casus, et rem amittere, atque etiam ex amissa re usuras reddere, alterum sedere domi otiosum, et quicquid acciderit de sorte, et lucro securum esse, iniquum est.

A. B. Deinde, distinguenda est hæc species societatis ab ea, in qua uterque et rem, et operam confert, ut cum mercatores cum mercatoribus societatem ineunt, tum enim uterque sibi ex æquo cavet.

Jo. Juellus. Distinguenda est societas ab illa. Illa enim honesta est, hæc semper turpis fuit. Verum ne hæc quidem ratio satis firma est. Quid enim facit cautio ad minuendam injuriam? fieri enim potest, ut etiam in turpi re uterque sibi ab utroque ex æquo caveat. Certe ne Judæi quidem hodie hoc genus societatis inter se probare possunt, ut mercatores aut divites a divitibus usuram exigant.

A. B. In hac vero specie diversum accidit, nam alter pecuniam habet in sua potestate, alter, obligationis schedula contentus, alterius bonam fidem sequitur.

Jo. Juellus. Est hoc quidem respondere aliquid, at non

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satisfacere. Quid enim si creditor non tantum sequatur fidem debitoris, sed etiam agros, et prædia velit sibi obligari: an non æque illi cautum est, atque alteri qui accepit pecuniam?

A. B. Itaque cum illi multo melius sit cautum quam isti, dico ita quoque concipi licere stipulationem, ut communis damni mentio non fiat, nempe ut ille hoc veluti fræno coerceatur, ne alienam pecuniam audacius profundat, sed ut ea parcius tanquam suo unius periculo peritura utatur.

Jo. Juellus. Imo æque ut dixi utrique cautum est, itaque in stipulatione par est, si quid acciderit, mentionem fieri communis damni. Otiosum autem erat hoc loco de pecuniæ profusione dicere. Nunc enim non de decoctoribus, sed de fœneratoribus sermo est. Certe in hac re una sita est controversia: cum cautio utrinque sit eadem, cur proponi non debeat idem utrinque periculum.

A. B. Interim tamen est Christiani hominis, tum in aliis omnibus obligationum speciebus, tum etiam in hoc contractu, ita jure suo uti, ut, cum ei constiterit, alterum sine sua culpa jacturam fecisse, paratus sit ex æquo et bono ipsius quoque sortis damnum ferre potius, quam ut cum fratre acerbius agat, quam Christiana charitas ferat.

Jo. Juellus. Christiani est hominis ita vivere, est etiam Christiani hominis ita contrahere: pacta enim et conventa, quasi vincula quædam sunt humanæ vitæ. Si debitor, inquis, nulla sua culpa jacturam fecerit, creditor debet ipsius etiam sortis damnum ferre. At quid si ille jacturam quidem nullam fecerit, sed ex aliena aut nihil lucratus sit, aut non ita multum, ut ex eo aliquid usuræ nomine decidi possit? quæ tandem hic adhibenda erit Christiana moderatio?

A. B. Ac ne cui hoc mirum videatur, dico similem esse mutui rationem, quod tamen nemo reprehendit. Exempli causa, frater egens venit ad me petens pecuniam, ego quod petit largior, sed tamen stipulor, bona fide intra certum tempus redditurum quod accepit. Quis hanc stipulationem damnet? Et tamen sæpissime accidit, ut debitores non possint, præsertim ad præscriptum tempus, persolvere mutuum, idque sine ulla culpa.

Jo. Juellus. Inter usuram, et mutuum multum est discriminis. Deus enim mutuo dare jussit, fœnerari prohibuit;

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et mutuum cum charitate conjunctum est, usura cum avaritia. Argumentum hoc quale tandem est? Fieri, inquis, potest, ut aliquis interdum in mutuo aut locatione præstare non possit quod promisit, *ergo* licet exercere fœnus. Hæc ratio mihi vix videtur cohærere. Est enim simile dissimile, et meo judicio non multum probat.

A. B. Idem ergo hic quoque incommodum accidit; sicut in agri locatione et aliis contractibus omnibus sæpissime usu venit, ut aliquis, quod sine exceptione promisit, præstare non possit. Idem igitur inter omnes regula obtineat, ut Christianus cum proximo Christiane agat, nec tamen propterea stipulatio damnetur.

Jo. Juellus. Inter bonos bene agere regula pia est et Christiana, verum ad hanc regulam usura non quadrat. Non enim adhuc satis liquido probatum est, fœneratorem posse esse virum bonum: aut homini Christiano licere magis pie fœnerari, quam pie furari. Nam qui dixit Non furaberis, idem dixit Non fœneraberis.

A. B. His positis, quod ad me attinet, his veluti finibus hunc contractum circumscriberem.

Jo. Juellus. Quæ res in se moderationem non habet ullam, eam istis moderationibus regere non potes. Quanto satius est, omnem usuram in universum prorsus tollere, quam malum infinitum finibus velle circumscribere.

A. B. Primum considerandum puto diligenter, ne, vel avaritiæ vel otii captandi causa, malimus pecuniam locare, quam ipsam exercere, vel emendis fundis collocare.

Jo. Juellus. Sunt ista non juris regulæ, sed injuriæ. Scilicet venimus ad summum, docemur nunc non avaritiæ, sed pietatis causa fœnerari, et nihil agendo non otium, sed laborem quærere.

A. B. Secundo cavendum, ne hoc modo fiamus ad sublevandam pauperum inopiam minus idonei, ut si quis quicquid habet alteri committat, ita ut non satis supersit quo fratrem juvet.

Jo. Juellus. Ridiculum, quanto enim plus exponis fœnori, tanto plus ad te redit quo juves fratrem.

A. B. Tertio quærendum mercatorem puto, non quam ditissimum, sed quam integerrimum, quique honestam faciet mercaturam.

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Jo. Juellus. Quid hoc ad rem? non enim integritas quæritur in fœnore, sed pecunia, nec nos mercatorem qui pecuniam accipit fœnori hoc loco comprehendimus, sed fœneratorem qui dedit.

A. B. Quarto, moderandam censeo pecuniæ pensionem, ita ut ipsius mercatoris, ac bonorum adhibito judicio et arbitrio, nec publicæ leges violentur, nec justa cuiquam offendiculi occasio præbeatur.

Jo. Juellus. Et quis tandem auream istam mediocritatem describet nobis, ut neve plus accipiamus quam oporteat, neve minus? Nam si unciarias usuras exigere licet, cur quadrantarias non licet? si quadrantarias, cur non licet trientarias? Si trientarias, cur non semisarias? et si illas, cur non etiam centesimas? Quis statuet nobis istos limites, ne uspiam liceat aberrare? Quod si regula hujusmodi ita ad perpendiculum tradi potest, cur eam Ipse non tradidit? cur non edixit nobis, hoc licere fieri, illud non licere? Quid causæ dici potest, cur nunquam nec Deus ipse, nec respublica ulla, nec vir bonus aliquis pensiones istas usurarias ita temperarit, ut intelligi possit, quid quantumque mercatorem a mercatore, usuræ nomine, liceat exigere? Absurdum est, cum omnia ad mediocritatem velis redigi, eam ipsam in medio relinquere, et nullis limitibus definire.

A. B. Quinto, diligenter circumspiciendum est, ut nostro jure utamur, et æquo, et bono, sicut Christiana charitas jubet.

Jo. Juellus. Hoc mihi idem videtur esse, quod proximum. Æquum enim, et bonum non aliud est, quam arbitrium boni viri cum charitate Christiana conjunctum. Charitas autem Christiana non fœneratur, nec ea quæ sua sunt quærit, sed ea quæ sunt Jesu Christi.

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CERTAIN FRIVOLOUS OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[Strype's Life of Whitgift, Append Book i. No. x. vol. iii. p. 21; also Whitgift's Defence, p 423]

The judgment of that Reverend Father Jewel, sometime Bishop of Sarum, on this assertion [*of Cartwright's*] (*styled by the Bishop in the margin of his Paper* Novitiorum assertio) "*Archiepiscoporum et Archidiaconorum nomina, simul cum muneribus et officiis suis, sunt abolenda* [1]."

THE FIRST REASON.

GOD so loved the world, that he left a perfect pattern, orderly &c. Ephes. iv. But there is named neither pope, nor archbishop, nor archdeacon.

THE ANSWER OF THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

How know you, that the fourth chapter *ad Ephes.* is a perfect pattern of all ecclesiastical government? We have now neither apostles, nor evangelists, nor prophets. And yet are they the chief in that pattern. Neither have we there either bishop, or presbyter, or diaconus, or catechista, or lector. And yet are these necessary parts in ecclesiastical government. Therefore that pattern is not perfect to hold for ever. Neither were there then any public churches, or pulpits, or schools, or universities, &c. St. Paul nameth neither pope nor archbishop, I grant. And the church is not governed by

[1] [This paper of bishop Jewel's (composed in 1572, shortly before his death, for archbishop Whitgift's use, and used by him in his Answer to the Admonition) drew upon his memory much posthumous abuse from Cartwright and his friends. Strype's Whitgift, vol. i. p. 76.]

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names, but by offices. Every bishop was then called *papa*. And Anacletus, that was next after Peter, (if there be any weight in *his* words,) nameth *archbishops*.

THE SECOND REASON.

The synagogue of the Jews was a figure of the church of Christ. And God to the perfection of that church omitted nothing.

THE ANSWER OF THE BISHOP.

I see not what you would conclude. Perhaps you will say, they had not the names of pope or archbishop. So had they not this name *Episcopus* in all Moses' law. Yet were not all priests of like antiency in government. They had other names that were equivalent with archbishops: as, *Principes synagogæ; Principes sanctuarii; Principes familiarum Leviticarum; Principes familiarum sacerdotalium; Principes sacerdotum, Principes Domus Dei; Pontifex; Summus pontifex, Summus sacerdos*, &c. Therefore this negative reason is but weak. Again, whereas it is said, that to the perfection of the synagogue there wanted nothing, it may be answered, that to the perfection thereof there wanted many things, as it is known and confessed. And as the synagogue had not the names of pope and archbishop, so had it not the name of apostle, or evangelist, &c.

THE THIRD REASON.

When the substance of any thing is most perfect, there the accidents be most perfect. But the substance of true religion was most perfect in the primitive church: and yet there was then no archbishop: *Ergo*.

THE ANSWER OF THE BISHOP.

First, this maxim is not proved. For it may well be doubted, whether the most perfect substance hath evermore most perfect accidents. And again, the substance of religion is the same now as it was then. The difference, if there be any, standeth in accidents, not in substance. Therefore this allegation of substance and accident was not needful. In the primitive church God raised up apostles and prophets,

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and gave them powers extraordinary; as the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, the gift of government, &c. In place whereof he hath given now universities, schools, bishops, archbishops, &c. But you say, there was then no archbishop. So may you say, that before king Saul there was no king in Israel; so you may say, that before of late times there was neither duke nor earl in England; so you may say, that in the primitive church there was neither dean, nor person, nor prebendary: and yet now, both in ecclesiastical and civil government, all these are thought necessary.

Last of all, where you say, there was no archbishop in the primitive church; it is written by many, that St. Paul made Titus archbishop of Creta. Erasmus saith, *Paulus Titum Cretæ consecravit*[2]. And Lyra likewise saith, *Paulus instituit Titum archiepiscopum Cretensium*[3]. If these authorities like you not, Chrysostom saith, *Paulus Tito multorum episcoporum judicium commisit*[4]. Now, having the government of many bishops, what may we call him but an archbishop?

THE FOURTH REASON.

The ecclesiastical and civil government may not be confounded, or be together in one person. But to be a chief or ruler, is a civil power: *Ergo*, it cannot be exercised by any ecclesiastical person.

THE ANSWER OF THE BISHOP.

Both these governments were confounded in Moses. Therefore they may be confounded. And the priests of Israel had the judgment and government of the people. And St. Augustine was wearied with hearing and determining of causes, as it appeareth by Possidonius. And where you say, to be a chief or ruler is a civil government; nay, in ecclesiastical causes, it is an ecclesiastical government; and not civil. And these differences of government may not so unadvisedly be confounded. This is the key of ecclesiastical correction; and belongeth only to the ecclesiastical officer, and to none other.

[2] [Erasmus in Arg. Epist. in tit.] [3] [Lyra.] [4] [Chrysost. i. cap. tit.]

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Hereof St. Paul saith, *Seniorem ne corripueris, nisi sub, &c. Tradidi illum Satanæ, &c.* This jurisdiction is not civil, but ecclesiastical: and therefore may be exercised by any ecclesiastical person.

The bishop of Sarum concludes: I beseech you to take these sudden answers in good part: as for these reasons, in my judgment, they are not made to build up; and they are too weak to pull down.

Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinæ fugabit illam: Prov. xxii. It is but wantonness: correction will help it.

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AN

APOLOGIE OR ANSWERE,

IN DEFENCE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

WITH A BRIEFE AND PLAINE

DECLARATION OF THE TRUE RELIGION PROFESSED AND USED IN THE SAME.

LONDON:

ANNO DOMINI

M.D.LXIIII.

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[The subjoined translation of the Apology (by Anne Cook, lady Bacon, the daughter of sir Anthony Cook, the wife of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, and the mother of the illustrious lord Bacon,) was adopted generally as the text book for Harding's Confutation, and bishop Jewel's Defence. The principal variations will be mentioned in the notes. Of the original, which is become extremely rare, there is a copy in the king's library at the British Museum, by which the editor's transcript has been corrected.]

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To the Right Honourable, learned, and virtuous Lady A[nne] B[acon], M[atthew] C[antuar.] wisheth from God grace, honour, and felicity[1].

MADAME,

ACCORDING to your request I have perused your studious labour of translation profitably employed in a right commendable work, whereof for that it liked you to make me a judge, and for that the thing itself hath singularly pleased my judgment, and delighted my mind in reading it, I have right heartily to thank your ladyship, both for your own well thinking of me, and for the comfort that it hath wrought me. But far above these private respects, I am by greater causes enforced, not only to shew my rejoyce of this your doing, but also to testify the same by this my writing prefixed before the work, to the commodity of others, and good encouragement of yourself

You have used your accustomed modesty in submitting it to judgment, but therein is your praise doubled, sith it hath passed judgment without reproach. And whereas the chief author of the Latin work and I, severally perusing and conferring your whole translation, have without alteration allowed of it, I must both desire your ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that we have not therein given any thing to any dissembling affection towards you, as being contented to wink at faults to please you, or to make you without cause to please yourself: for there be sundry respects to draw us from so doing, although we were so evil minded, as there is no cause why we should be so thought of. Your own judgment in discerning flattery, your modesty in misliking it, the laying open of our opinion to the world, the truth of our friendship towards you, the un-

1 [The compliment paid by this letter, to the merit of lady Anne Bacon's translation is the more striking, if (as Strype asserts) the archbishop had a great hand in the first translation, 1562, which it entirely superseded. This last is the version alluded to by Harding, when he speaks of "your man's translation."]

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willingness of us both (in respect of our vocations,) to have this public work not truly and well translated, are good causes to persuade, that our allowance is of sincere truth and understanding: by which your travail, Madame, you have expressed an acceptable duty to the glory of GOD, deserved well of the church of Christ, honourably defended the good fame and estimation of your own native tongue, shewing it so able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech: and besides the honour ye have done to the kind of women and to the degree of ladies, ye have done pleasure to the author of this Latin book, in delivering by your clear translation from the perils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions, and in making his good work more publicly beneficial: whereby ye have raised up great comfort to your friends, and have furnished your own conscience joyfully with the fruit of your labour, in so occupying your time; which must needs redound to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly exercise, having delivered them by you so singular a precedent: which your doing good, Madame, as God (I am sure) doth accept and will bless with increase, so yours and ours most virtuous and learned sovereign lady and mistress[2] shall see good cause to commend: and all noble gentlewomen shall (I trust) hereby be allured from vain delights, to doings of more perfect glory. And I for my part (as occasion shall serve) shall exhort other to take profit by your work, and follow your example: whose success I beseech our heavenly Father to bless and prosper. And now to the end both to acknowledge my good approbation, and to spread the benefit more largely, where your ladyship hath sent me your book written, I have with most hearty thanks returned it to you (as you see) printed: knowing that I have therein done the best, and in this point used a reasonable policy: that is, to prevent such excuses as your modesty would have made in stay of publishing it. And thus at this time I leave furder to trouble

Your good Ladyship

M[ATTHEW] C[ANTUAR.]

[2] [Origin. "Mastres."]

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[Vol. iv. p. 140.] *

AN

APOLOGY, OR ANSWER,

IN DEFENCE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

WITH A BRIEF AND PLAIN DECLARATION OF THE TRUE RELIGION PROFESSED AND USED IN THE SAME.

[Ch. i. div. i. vol. iv. 146.]

IT hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that the truth wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies and slanderers amongst those that know her not. Albeit perchance this may seem unto some a thing hard to be believed, I mean to such as have scant well and narrowly taken heed thereunto, specially seeing all mankind of nature's very motion without a teacher doth covet the truth of their own accord: and seeing our Saviour Christ himself, when he was on earth, would be called the truth, as by a name most fit to express all his divine power: yet we, which have been exercised in the holy scriptures, and which have both read and seen what hath happened to all godly men commonly at all times; what to the prophets, to the apostles, to the holy martyrs, and what to Christ himself: with what rebukes, revilings and despites they were continually vexed whiles they here lived, and that only for the truth's sake: we (I say) do see, that this is not only no new thing, or hard to be believed, but that it is a thing already

[PART I.]

Tertull. in Apologetico [sub. init.]

* [The numerals in the inner margin refer to the Defence of the Apology, supra, vols. iv. v. and vi.]

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[PART I.] received, and commonly used from age to age. Nay truly, this might seem much rather a marvel, and beyond all
John viii. 44. belief, if the devil, who is the father of lies, and enemy to all truth, would now upon a sudden change his nature, and hope that truth might otherwise be suppressed than by belying it; or that he would begin to establish his own kingdom by using now any other practices than the same which he hath ever used from the beginning. For since any man's remembrance we can scant find one time, either when religion did first grow, or when it was settled, or when it did afresh spring up again, wherein truth and innocency were not by all unworthy means and most despitefully intreated. Doubtless the devil well seeth, that so long as truth is in good safety, himself cannot be safe, nor yet maintain his own estate.

For letting pass the ancient patriarchs and prophets, who, as we have said, had no part of their life free from contumelies and slanders; we know there were certain in times past which said and commonly preached, that the old ancient Jews (of whom we make no doubt but they were the worshippers of the only and true God) did
Cornel. Tacitus, Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 4.] Tertull. Apol. [cap. 16. p. 15.] worship either a sow or an ass in God's stead, and that all the same religion was nothing else but a sacrilege, and a plain contempt of all godliness. We know also that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesu Christ, when he taught the truth was counted a juggler[1] and an enchanter, a
Matt. x. 25. Samaritan, Beelzebub, a deceiver of the people, a drunkard, and a glutton. Again, who wotteth not, what words were spoken against St. Paul, the most earnest and vehement preacher and maintainer of the truth? sometime, that he was a seditious and busy man, a raiser of tumults, a causer of rebellion: sometime again, that he was an heretic: sometime, that he was mad; sometime, that only upon strife and stomach he was both a blasphemer of God's law, and a despiser of the fathers' ordinances. Further, who knoweth not, how St. Stephen, after he had thoroughly and sincerely embraced the truth, and began frankly and stoutly to preach and set forth the same, as he ought to

[1] [Def. of Apol. "sorcerer."]

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do, was immediately called to answer for his life, as one that had wickedly uttered disdainful and heinous words against the law, against Moses, against the temple, and against God? Or who is ignorant, that in times past there were some which reproved the holy scriptures of falsehood, saying, they contained things both contrary and quite one against another: and how that the apostles of Christ did severally disagree between themselves, and that St. Paul did vary from them all? And not to make rehearsal of all, for that were an endless labour; who knoweth not, after what sort our fathers were railed upon in times past, which first began to acknowledge and profess the name of Christ? how they made private conspiracies, devised secret counsels against the commonwealth, and to that end made early and privy meetings in the dark, killed young babes, fed themselves with men's flesh, and, like savage and brute beasts, did drink their blood? in conclusion, how that after they had put out the candles, they committed adultery between themselves, and without regard wrought incest one with another; that brethren lay with their sisters, sons with their mothers, without any reverence of nature or kin, without shame, without difference: and that they were wicked men without all care of religion, and without any opinion of God, being the very enemies of mankind, unworthy to be suffered in the world, and unworthy of life?

[PART I.]

Hieron. in Procem. in Galat. [iv. 223.] Hieron. in Matth. lib. 1. cap. 1. [iv. 7.] Marcion. ex Tertull. lib. 1. [p. 375.] and lib. 4. [414.] Ælius e Lactantio [lib. 5. cap. 2. p. 462.]

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 1. [l. 201.] Tertull. in Apolog. 3. Idem 1. 2. 3. et 7. 8. 9. [pp. 7. 8. 9.]

All these things were spoken in those days against the people of God, against Christ Jesu, against Paul, against Stephen, and against all them, whosoever they were, which at the first beginning embraced the truth of the gospel, and were contented to be called by the name of Christians: which was then an hateful name among the common people. And although the things which they said were not true, yet the devil thought it should be sufficient for him, if at the least he could bring it so to pass, as they might be believed for true: and that the Christians might be brought into a common hatred of every body, and have their death and destruction sought of all sorts. Hereupon kings and princes, being led then by such persuasions,

Tertull. in Apol. cap. 3. [p. 4.]

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[PART I.] killed all the prophets of God, letting none escape: Esay with a saw, Jeremy with stones, Daniel with lions, Amos with an iron bar, Paul with the sword, and Christ upon the cross; and condemned all Christians to imprisonments, to torments, to the pikes, to be thrown down headlong from rocks and steep places, to be cast to wild beasts, and to be burnt: and made great fires of their quick bodies, for the only purpose to give light by night, and for a very scorn and mocking stock: and did count them no better than the vilest filth, the offscourings and laughing games of the whole world. Thus (as ye see) have the authors and professors of the truth ever been intreated: wherefore, we ought to bear it the more quietly, which have taken upon us to profess the gospel of Christ, if we for the same cause be handled after the same sort; and if we, as our forefathers were long ago, be likewise at this day tormented, and baited with railings, with spiteful dealings, and with lies: and that for no desert of our own, but only because we teach and acknowledge the truth.

Suetonius Tranquill. in Nerone. [cap. 16.]

[Ch. 2. div. 1. iv. p. 158.]

They cry out upon us at this present everywhere, that we are all heretics, and have forsaken the faith, and have with new persuasions and wicked learning utterly dissolved the concord of the church; that we renew, and, as it were, fetch again from hell the old and many a day condemned heresies; that we sow abroad new sects, and such broils as never yearst were heard of: also that we are already divided into contrary parts and opinions, and could yet by no means agree well among ourselves: that we be cursed creatures, and like the giants do war against God himself, and live clean without any regard or worshipping of God: that we despise all good deeds: that we use no discipline of virtue, no laws, no customs: that we esteem neither right, nor order, nor equity, nor justice: that we give the bridle to all naughtiness, and provoke the people to all licentiousness and lust: that we labour and seek to overthrow the state of monarchies and kingdoms, and to bring all things under the rule of the rash inconstant people, and unlearned multitude: that we have seditiously fallen from the catholic church, and by a wicked schism

[Ch. 2. div. 2. iv. p. 162.]

[Ch. 2. div. 3. iv. p. 167.]

[Ch. 2. div. 4. iv. p. 171.]

[Ch. 2. div. 6. iv. p. 172.]

[Ch. 2. div. 7. iv. p. 174.]

[Ch. 2. div. 8. iv. p. 180.]

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and division have shaken the whole world, and troubled [PART I.] the common peace and universal quiet of the church; and that as Dathan and Abiram conspired in times past against Moses and Aaron, even so we at this day have renounced [Ch. 2. div. 9. iv. p. 183.] the bishop of Rome, without any cause reasonable: that we set nought by the authority of the ancient fathers and councils of old time: that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies, which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred years past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity: and that we have by our own private head, without the authority of any sacred and general council, brought new traditions into the church: and have done all these things not for religion's sake, but only upon a desire of contention and strife.

But that they for their part have changed no manner of thing, but have held and kept still such a number of years to this very day all things, as they were delivered from the apostles, and well approved by the most ancient fathers.

[Ch. 2. div. 10. iv. p. 189.] And that this matter should not seem to be done but upon privy slander, and to be tossed to and fro in a corner, only to spite us, there have been besides wilily procured by the bishop of Rome certain persons of eloquence enough, and not unlearned neither, which should put their help to this cause, now almost despaired of, and should polish and set forth the same, both in books, and with long tales, to the end that, when the matter was trimly and eloquently handled, ignorant and unskilful persons might suspect there was some great thing in it. Indeed they perceived that their own cause did everywhere go to wrack; that their sleights were now espied, and less esteemed; and that their helps did daily fail them; and that their matter stood altogether in great need of a cunning spokesman.

[Ch. 3. div. 2. iv. p. 192.] Now, as for those things which by them have been laid against us, in part they be manifestly false, and condemned so by their own judgments, which spake them: partly again, though they be as false too indeed, yet bear they a certain show and colour of truth, so as the reader (if he take not

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[PART I.] good heed) may easily be tripped and brought into error by them, specially when their fine and cunning tale is added thereunto. And part of them be of such sort, as we ought not to shun them as crimes or faults, but to acknowledge and profess them as things well done, and upon very good reason.

For shortly to say the truth, these folk falsely accuse and slander all our doings; yea the same things which they themselves cannot deny but to be rightly and orderly done: and for malice do so misconstrue and deprave all our sayings and doings, as though it were impossible that any thing could be rightly spoken or done by us. They should more plainly and sincerely have gone to work, if they would have dealt truly. But now they neither truly, nor sincerely, nor yet Christianly, but darkly, and craftily charge and batter us with lies, and do abuse the blindness and fondness of the people, together with the ignorance of princes, to cause us to be hated, and the truth to be suppressed.

This, lo ye, is the power of darkness, and of men which lean more to the amazed wondering of the rude multitude, and to darkness, than they do to truth and light: and as St. Hierom saith, which do openly gainsay the truth, closing up their eyes, and will not see for the nonce. But we give thanks to the most good and mighty God, that such is our cause, whereagainst (when they would fainest) they were able to utter no despite, but the same which might as well be wrested against the holy fathers, against the prophets, against the apostles, against Peter, against Paul, and against Christ himself.

Hieron. adv. Ruffin.

Now therefore, if it be lawful for these folks to be eloquent and fine-tongued in speaking evil, surely it becometh not us in our cause, being so very good, to be dumb in answering truly. For men to be careless what is spoken by them and their own matter, be it never so falsely and slanderously spoken, (especially when it is such that the majesty of God and the cause of religion may thereby be damaged,) is the part doubtless of dissolute and wretchless persons, and of them which wickedly wink at the injuries

[Ch. 3. div. 5. iv. p. 196.]

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done unto the name of God. For although other wrongs, [PART I.] yea oftentimes great, may be borne and dissembled of a mild and Christian man, yet he that goeth smoothly away, and dissembleth the matter when he is noted of heresy, Ruffinus was wont to deny that man to be a Christian. We therefore will do the same thing, which all laws, which nature's own voice doth command to be done, and which Christ himself did in like case, when he was checked and reviled: to the intent we may put off from us these men's slanderous accusations, and may defend soberly and truly our own cause and innocency.

[Ch. 4. div. 2. iv. p. 197.] For Christ verily, when the Pharisees charged him with sorcery, as one that had some familiar spirits, and wrought many things by their help: "I (said he) have not the devil, but do glorify my Father: but it is you that have dishonoured me, and put me to rebuke and shame." And St. Paul, when Festus the lieutenant scorned him as a madman: "I (said he) most dear Festus, am not mad, as thou thinkest, but I speak the words of truth and soberness." And the ancient Christians, when they were slandered to the people for mankillers, for adulterers, for committers of incest, for disturbers of the commonweals, and did perceive that by such slanderous accusations the religion which they professed might be brought in question, namely, if they should seem to hold their peace, and in manner to confess the fault: lest this might hinder the free course of the gospel, they made orations, they put up supplications, and made means to emperors and princes, that they might defend themselves and their fellows in open audience.

John viii. 49.

Acts xxvi. 25.

[Ch. 4. div. 3. iv. p. 203.] But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth, in the midst of most painful torments that could be devised; and when princes, desirous to restrain the gospel, sought many ways, but prevailed nothing; and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light: we take it that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think

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[PART I.] it not needful to make many words, seeing the matter saith enough for itself. For if the popes would, or else if they could weigh with their own selves the whole matter, and also the beginnings and proceedings of our religion, how in a manner all their travail hath come to nought, nobody driving it forward: and how on the other side, our cause, against the will of emperors from the beginning, against the wills of so many kings, in spite of the popes, and almost maugre the head of all men, hath taken increase, and by little and little spread over into all countries, and is come at length even into kings' courts and palaces: these same things, methinketh, might be tokens great enough to them, that God himself doth strongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from heaven laugh at their enterprises: and that the force of truth is such, as neither man's power, nor yet hell-gates are able to root it out. For they be not all mad at this day, so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, which have fallen away from the seat of Rome, and have rather joined themselves to the gospel of Christ. [Ch. 4. div. 7. fv. p. 212.] [Ch. 5. div. 5. fv. p. 216.]

And although the popes had never hitherunto leisure to consider diligently and earnestly of these matters, or though some other cares do now let them, and diverse ways pull them, or though they count these to be but common and trifling studies, and nothing to appertain to the pope's worthiness, this maketh not why our matter ought to seem the worse. Or if they perchance will not see that which they see indeed, but rather will withstand the known truth, ought we therefore bye and bye to be accounted heretics, because we obey not their will and pleasure? If so be, that pope Pius were the man, (we say not, which he would so gladly be called,) but if he were indeed a man that either would account us for his brethren, or at least would take us to be men, he would first diligently have examined our reasons, and would have seen what might be said with us, what against us: and would not in his bull, whereby he lately pretended a council, so rashly have condemned so great a part of the world, so many [Ch. 5. div. 4. fv. p. 226.] [Ch. 5. div. 6. fv. p. 229.]

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learned and godly men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, only upon his own blind prejudices and foredeterminations, and that without hearing of them speak, or without shewing cause why. [PART I.]

[Ch. 6. div. 1. iv. p. 232.]

But because he hath already so noted us openly, lest by holding our peace we should seem to grant a fault, and specially because we can by no means have audience in the public assembly of the general council, wherein he would no creature should have power to give his voice, or to declare his opinion, except he be sworn, and straitly bound to maintain his authority: for we have had good experience hereof in the last conference at the council at Trident: where the ambassadors and divines of the princes of Germany, and of the free cities, were quite shut out from their company: neither can we yet forget, how Julius the Third, above ten years past[2], provided warily by his writ, that none of our sort should be suffered to speak in the council, except that there were some peradventure, that would recant and change his opinion: for this cause chiefly we thought it good to yield up an account of our faith in writing, and truly and openly to make answer to those things wherewith we have been openly charged; to the end the world may see the parts and foundations of that doctrine, in the behalf whereof so many good men have little regarded their own lives: and that all men may understand, what manner of people they be, and what opinion they have of God and of religion, whom the bishop of Rome, before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for heretics, without any good consideration, without any example, and utterly without law or right, only because he heard tell, that they did dissent from him and his in some point of religion.

[2] [See a passage similar to this in the Epist. ad Scip. supra, p. 94 of this volume, and the notes there, [63] and [64]. The authority quoted by Jewel is the "Breve Julii tertii; citatur a Calvino." (Def. Apol. iv. p. 238.) The Editor has not succeeded in finding either the Brief, or the passage in Calvin.]

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[PART I.] And although St. Hierom would have nobody to be patient when he is suspected of heresy[3], yet we will deal herein neither bitterly nor brablingly, nor yet be carried away with anger and heat, though he ought to be reckoned neither bitter nor brabler that speaketh the truth. We willingly leave this kind of eloquence to our adversaries, who, whatsoever they say against us, be it never so shrewdly or despitefully said, yet think it is said modestly and comely enough, and care nothing whether it be true or false. We need none of these shifts, which do maintain the truth.

[Hieron. Ep. ad Pammach. tom. iv. pt. 2. p. 307.]

[Ch. 6. div. 2. iv. p. 240.]

Further, if we do shew it plainly, that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men, and rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers; and if we shall be found to do the same not colourably, or craftily, but in good faith before God, truly, honestly, clearly, and plainly; and if they themselves which fly our doctrine, and would be called catholics, shall manifestly see, how all these titles of antiquity, whereof they boast so much, are quite shaken out of their hands; and that there is more pith in this our cause than they thought for: we then hope and trust, that none of them will be so negligent and careless of his own salvation, but he will at length study and bethink himself, to whether part he were best to join him. Undoubtedly, except one will altogether harden his heart, and refuse to hear, he shall not repent him to give good heed to this our Defence, and to mark well what we say, and how truly and justly it agreeth with Christian religion. For where they call us heretics, it is a crime so heinous, that unless it may be seen, unless it may be felt, and in manner may be holden with hands and fingers, it ought not lightly to be judged or believed, when it is laid to the charge of any Christian man. For heresy is a forsaking

[Ch. 7. div. 2. iv. p. 242.]

[3] [Hieron. ad Pammach. "Nolo "in suspicione hæreseos quen- "quam esse patientem; ne apud "eos qui ignorant innocentiam "ejus, dissimulatio conscientia ju- "dicetur, si taceat."]

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of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from [PART I.]
[Ch. 7. div. 3. iv. p. 245.] the body and spirit of Christ. But this was ever an old and solemn property with them and their forefathers: if any did complain of their errors and faults, and desired to have true religion restored; straightway to condemn such for heretics, as men newfangled and factious. Christ for no other cause was called a Samaritan, but only for that he was thought to have fallen to a certain new religion, and to be the author of a new sect. And Paul the apostle of Christ was called before the judges to make answer to a matter of heresy: and therefore he said: "According to this way, which they call heresy, I do worship the God of my fathers; believing all things which be written in the law and in the prophets." Acts xxiv. 14.

Shortly to speak [4]. This universal religion which Christian men profess at this day, was called first of the heathen people a sect and heresy. With these terms did they always fill princes' ears, to the intent when they had once hated us with a predetermined opinion, and had counted all that we said to be faction and heresy, they might be so led away from the truth and right understanding of the cause.

[Ch. 8. div. 1. iv. p. 250.] But the more sore and outrageous a crime heresy is, the more it ought to be proved by plain and strong arguments, especially in this time, when men begin to give less credit to their words, and to make more diligent search of their doctrine, than they were wont to do. For the people of God are otherwise instructed now, than they were in times past, when all the bishops of Rome's sayings were allowed for gospel, and when all religion did depend only upon their authority. Now-a-days the holy scripture is abroad, the writings of the apostles and prophets are in print, whereby all truth and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresy may be disproved and confuted.

[Ch. 8. div. 2. iv. p. 262.] Sithence, then, they bring forth none of these for themselves, and call us nevertheless heretics, which have neither fallen from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor yet from the prophets, this is an injurious and a very spiteful dealing.

[Ch. 9. div. 1. iv. p. 265.] With this sword did Christ put off the devil when he was

[4] [These three sentences were omitted in the Def. of the Apology.]

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[PART I.] tempted of him: with these weapons ought all presumption, which doth advance itself against God, to be overthrown and conquered. "For all scripture," saith St.
2 Tim. iii. 16. Paul, "that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to confute, to instruct, and to reprove, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly framed to every good work." Thus did the holy fathers always fight against the heretics with none other force than with the holy scriptures. St. Augustine, when he disputed against [Ch. 9. div. 2. iv. p. 274.]
De Unitate, cap. 3. [Ix. 340.] Petilian, a heretic of the Donatists: "Let not these words," quod he, "be heard between us, 'I say, or you say:' let us
Contra Maximin. Arian. episcop. lib. 3. c. 14. [viii. 704.] rather speak in this wise: 'Thus saith the Lord.' There let us seek the church: there let us boult[4] out our cause[5]."
Hieron. in Aggæ. [tom. iii. 1690.] Likewise St. Hierom: "All those things," (saith he,) [Ch. 9. div. 3. iv. p. 278.] "which without the testimony of the scriptures are holden as delivered from the apostles, be thoroughly smitten down by the sword of God's word." St. Ambrose also, to Gra- [Ch. 9. div. 4. iv. p. 287.]
[De Fide ad Gratian. tom. ii. 451.] tian the emperor: "Let the scripture," (saith he,) "be "asked the question, let the prophets be asked, and let Christ be asked." For at that time made the catholic fathers and bishops no doubt, but that our religion might be proved[6] out of the holy scriptures. Neither were they ever so hardy as to take any for an heretic, whose error they could not evidently and apparently reprove by the self-same scriptures. And we verily do make answer on
Acts xxiv. 14. this wise, as St. Paul did: "According to this way which they call heresy we do worship God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and do allow all things which have been written either in the law, or in the prophets," or in the apostles' works.

Wherefore, if we be heretics, and they (as they would [Ch. 10. div. 1. iv. p. 291.] fain be called) be catholics, why do they not, as they see the fathers, which were catholic men, have always done? Why do they not convince and master us by the divine scriptures? Why do they not call us again to be tried by them? Why do they not lay before us, how we have gone

[4] [To "boult out," to sift, to examine.]
[5] [See several other authorities to the like purpose in Def. of Apol. iv. pp. 276. 277.]
[6] [Apol. Lat. adds "satis."]

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away from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, [PART I.] and from the holy fathers? Why stick they to do it? Why are they afraid of it? It is God's cause. Why are they doubtful to commit it to the trial of God's word? If we be heretics, which refer all our controversies unto the holy scriptures, and report us to the self-same words which we know were sealed by God himself, and in comparison of them set little by all other things, whatsoever may be devised by men; how shall we say to these folk, I pray you, what manner of men be they, and how is it meet to call them, which fear the judgment of the holy scriptures, that is to say, the judgment of God himself, and do prefer before them their own dreams, and full cold inventions: and, to maintain their own traditions, have defaced and corrupted, now these many hundred years, the ordinances of Christ and of the apostles?

[Ch. 10. div. 2. iv. p. 307.] Men say, that Sophocles the tragical poet, when in his old days he was by his own sons accused before the judges for a doting and sottish man, as one that fondly wasted his own substance, and seemed to need a governor to see unto him: to the intent he might clear himself of the fault, he came into the place of judgment, and when he had rehearsed before them his tragedy called Œdipus Coloneus, which he had written at the very time of his accusation, marvellous exactly and cunningly, did of himself ask the judges[7], whether they thought any sottish or doting man could do the like piece of work.

In like manner, because these men take us to be mad, and appeach us for heretics, as men which have nothing to do, neither with Christ, nor with the church of God, we have judged it should be to good purpose, and not unprofitable, if we do openly and frankly set forth our faith wherein we stand, and shew all that confidence which we have in Christ Jesu, to the intent all men may see, what is our judgment of every part of Christian religion, and may resolve with themselves, whether the faith which they shall see confirmed by the words of Christ, by the writings of

[7] [In the Def. of the Apol. "did ask the judges in his own behalf."]

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[PART I.] the apostles, by the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and by the examples of many ages, be but a certain rage of furious and mad men, and a conspiracy of heretics. This therefore is our belief.

[PART II.] We believe, that there is one certain Nature and divine Power, which we call God: and that the same is divided into three equal Persons; into the Father, into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost: and that they all be of one power, of one majesty, of one eternity, of one godhead, and of one substance. And although these three Persons be so divided, that neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son is the Holy Ghost, or the Father: yet nevertheless we believe that there is but one very God: and that the same one God hath created heaven, and earth, and all things contained under heaven. [Ch. 1. div. 1. iv. p. 311.]

We believe, that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, (as long before it was determined before all beginnings,) when the fulness of time was come, did take of that blessed and pure Virgin, both flesh, and all the nature of man, that he might declare to the world the secret and hid will of his Father: which will had been laid up from before all ages and generations: and that he might full finish in his human body the mystery of our redemption; and might fasten our sins to the cross, and also that hand-writing which was made against us.

We believe, that for our sakes he died, and was buried, descended into hell, the third day by the power of his godhead returned to life, and rose again; and that the fortieth day after his resurrection, whiles his disciples beheld and looked upon him, he ascended into heaven, to fulfil all things, and did place in majesty and glory the self-same body wherewith he was born, wherein he lived on earth, wherein he was jested at, wherein he had suffered most painful torments, and cruel kind of death, wherein he rose again, and wherein he ascended to the right hand of the Father, "above all rule, above all power, all force, all dominion, and above every name that is named, not

Aug. Tract. 50. in Johan. [iii. pt. 2. 634.]

Eph. i. 21.

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only in this world, but also in the world to come:" and [PART II.] that there he now sitteth, and shall sit, till all things be Acts iii. 21. full perfected. And although the majesty and godhead of Christ be everywhere abundantly dispersed, yet we believe, that his body, as St. Augustine saith, must needs [In Johan. Tr. 30. iii. pt. 2. 517.] be still in one place[7]: and that Christ hath given majesty unto his body, but yet hath not taken away from it the nature of a body: and that we must not so affirm Christ to be God, that we deny him to be man: and, as the martyr Vigilius[8] saith, that Christ hath left us as touching his human nature, but hath not left us as touching his divine nature: and that the same Christ, though he be absent from us concerning his manhood[9], yet is ever present with us concerning his godhead[10]. From that place also we believe, that Christ shall come again to execute that general judgment, as well of them whom he shall then find alive in the body, as of them that be already dead.

In Epist. ad Dardan. [II. 681.]

Contr. Eutych. lib. i. [Bibl. Patr. viii.]

Fulgentius ad Thrasymundum.

[Ch. i. div. 2. iv. p. 332.] We believe, that the Holy Ghost, who is the third person in the Holy Trinity, is very God: not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son, by a certain mean unknown unto men, and unspeakable: and that it is his property to mollify and soften the hardness of man's heart, when he is once received thereinto, either by the wholesome preaching of the gospel, or by any other way: that he doth give men light, and guide them unto the knowledge of God; to all way of truth; to newness of the whole life; and to everlasting hope of salvation.

[7] [Bishop Jewel read with Gratian (de Cons. Dist. 2. Prima), Ivo, and Aquinas, "*oportet*," whereas the true reading is, according to all the editions and MSS. of St. Augustine's works, "Corpus in "quo resurrexit, in uno loco esse "*potest*." See vol. ii. supra, p. 394, note [91]: also vol. iv. p. 314.]

[8] [This was not the martyr Vigilius *Tridentinus*, (fl. 390.) but Vigilius Tapsitanus, A. D. 484. Supra, vol. ii. 415, note.]

[9] [Harding expresses great anger at the translator substituting "manhood" and "godhead" for "formam servi," and "formam Dei." Bishop Jewel, in the Def. of the Apology, explains and defends these expressions, vol. iv. p. 329.]

[10] [Bp. Jewel has here touched upon the Ubiquitarian theory, which, invented by Brentius, was now raging in Germany, but never gained much footing in England. See the sixth article of the Challenge, ii. 383: also the letters on this subject between Martyr and Jewel in this volume, p. 153.]

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[PART II.] We believe, that there is one church of God, and that the same is not shut up (as in times past among the Jews) into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholick and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world. So that there is now no nation which may truly complain that they be shut forth, and may not be one of the church and people of God: and that this church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ: and that Christ alone is the prince of this kingdom; that Christ alone is the head of this body; and that Christ alone is the bridegroom of this spouse. [Ch. 2. div. 1. iv. p. 334.]

Furthermore, we believe, that there be divers degrees of ministers in the church: whereof some be deacons, some priests, some bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the whole charge and setting forth of religion. Yet notwithstanding, we say that there neither is, nor can be any one man, which may have the whole superiority in this universal state: for that Christ is ever present to assist his church, and needeth not any man to supply his room, as his only heir to all his substance: and that there can be no one mortal creature, which is able to comprehend or conceive in his mind the universal church, that is to wit, all the parts of the world, much less able rightly and duly to put them in order, and to govern them rightly and duly. For all the apostles, as Cyprian saith, were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was, and that it was said indifferently to them all, [11] "feed ye:" indifferently to them all, "go into the whole world:" indifferently to them all, "teach ye the gospel." And (as [12]Hierom saith) all bishops wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like preeminence, and of like priesthood. And, as Cyprian saith, there is but one bishoprick, and a piece thereof is perfectly and wholly holden of every

[Ch. 3. div. 1. iv. p. 344.]

[Ch. 3. div. 2. iv. p. 349.]

[Cypr. de simp. prælatorum, p. 195.]

[Ch. 3. div. 3. iv. p. 369.]

[Ch. 3. div. 4. iv. p. 375.]

Ad Evagr. [iv. p. 2. 803.]

[Ch. 3. div. 5. iv. p. 377.]

[De simpl. præl. p. 195.]

[11] [This oversight of the bishop's was of course eagerly seized by Harding. See Def. Apol. iv. 375, and the editor's note [76], ib. p. 376.]

[12] [It is worthy of observation, that here and elsewhere the word "Saint," omitted by lady Bacon, is prefixed by bishop Jewel in the Def. of the Apology.]

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[Ch. 3. div. 6. iv. p. 402.] particular bishop. And according to the judgment of the Nicene council, we say, that the bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the church of God, than the rest of the patriarchs, either of Alexandria or of Antiochia, have. [PART II.] [Concil. Nicæn. can. 6.]

[Ch. 3. div. 7. iv. p. 408.] And as for the bishop of Rome, who now calleth all matters before himself alone, except he do his duty as he ought to do, except he minister the sacraments, except he instruct the people, except he warn them and teach them, we say that he ought not of right once to be called a bishop, or so much as an elder. For a bishop, as saith Augustine, is a name of labour, and not of honour: because he will have that man understand himself to be no bishop, which will seek to have preeminence, and not to profit others[13]. And that neither the pope, nor any other worldly creature can no more be head of the whole church, or a bishop over all, than he can be the bridegroom, the light, the salvation, and life of the church. For the privileges and names belong only to Christ, and be properly and only fit for him alone. And that no bishop of Rome did ever suffer himself to be called by such a proud name before Phocas the emperor's time, who, as we know, by killing his own sovereign Maurice the emperor[14], did by a traitorous villany aspire to the empire about the sixth hundredth and thirteenth year after Christ was born. [De civ. Dei, l. 19. c. 19. vii. 563.]

[Ch. 4. div. 1. iv. p. 412.]

[Ch. 4. div. 2. iv. p. 416.] Also the council of Carthage did circumspectly[15] provide, that no bishop should be called the highest bishop, or chief priest[16]. [Concil. Carth. 3. cap. 26. Mansi iii. 884.]

[Ch. 4. div. 3. iv. p. 422.] And therefore, sithence the bishop of Rome will now-a-days so be called, and challengeth unto himself an authority that is none of his: besides that he doth plainly contrary to the ancient councils, and contrary to the old fathers: we believe that he doth give unto himself, as it is written by his own companion Gregory[17], a pre-

[13] [In the Defence of the Apology, bp. Jewel altered this into "that the man that seeketh to have preeminence, and not to profit, may understand himself to be no bishop." See the original of St. August. iv. 409. supra.]

[14] [Supra, vol. ii. 177.]

[15] [Apol. Lat. "diserte."]

[16] [See Replie, supra ii. 161.]

[17] [See numerous passages from St. Gregory's works confirmatory of these statements, supra vol. ii. p. 143, &c. with the

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[PART II.] sumptuous, a profane, a sacrilegious, and an antichristian name: that he is also the king of pride, that he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren: that he hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of Antichrist.

Further we say, that the minister ought lawfully, duly, and orderly to be preferred to that office of the church of God[16], and that no man hath power to wrest himself into the holy ministry at his own pleasure and list. Wherefore these persons do us the greater wrong which have nothing so common in their mouths, as that we do nothing orderly and comely, but all things troublesomely, and without order: and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the scriptures[17]. [Ch. 5. div. 1. fv. p. 429.]

Moreover we say that Christ hath given to his ministers power to bind, to loose, to open, to shut. And that the office of loosing consisteth in this point: that the minister should either offer by the preaching of the gospel the merits of Christ, and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent themselves, pronouncing unto the same a sure and undoubted forgiveness of their sins, and hope of everlasting salvation: or else that the same minister, when any have offended their brothers' minds with a great offence, with a notable and open fault, whereby they have, as it were, banished and made themselves strangers from the common fellowship, and from the body of Christ, then after perfect amendment of such persons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home again, and restore them to the company and unity of the faithful. We say also, that the minister doth execute the authority of binding and shutting, as often as he shutteth up the gate of the kingdom of heaven against the unbelieving and stubborn persons, denouncing unto them God's vengeance, and everlasting punishment: or else, when he doth quite shut them out from the bosom [Ch. 6. div. 1. fv. p. 486.] [Ch. 6. div. 2. fv. p. 491.] [Ch. 6. div. 3. fv. p. 503.]

editor's note[83]. Indeed the reader will do well to peruse the whole of the 4th Art. of the Replie, together with this part of the Apology.]

[16] [Apol. Lat. "Ministrum legi-"time vocari oportere, et recte at-"que ordine præfici ecclesiæ Dei."]

[17] [The discussion on this division, and on the various collateral subjects which arise out of it, extends from p. 431. to p. 486. of the Def. Apol.]

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of the church, by open excommunication. Out of doubt, [PART II] what sentence soever the minister of God shall give in this sort, God himself doth so well allow of it, that whatsoever here in earth by their means is loosed and bound, God himself will loose and bind, and confirm the same in heaven.

[Ch. 7. div. 1. iv. p. 507.] And touching the keys, wherewith they may either shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we with Chrysostom[18] say, "They be the knowledge of the scriptures:" with Tertullian we say, "They be the interpretation of the law:" and with Eusebius we call them, "The word of God." [Chrys. in Opere imp. Hom. 44. [vi. app. 180.] [Contr. Marc. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 444.]

[Ch. 7. div. 2. iv. p. 510.] Moreover that Christ's disciples did receive this authority, not that they should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings, as the common massing priests do everywhere now-a-days, and do it so, as though in that one point lay all the virtue and use of the keys: but to the end they should go, they should teach, they should publish abroad the gospel, and be unto the believing a sweet savour of life unto life; and unto the unbelieving and unfaithful, a savour of death unto death: and that the minds of godly persons being brought low by the remorse of their former life and errors, after they once began to look up unto the light of the gospel, and believe in Christ, might be opened with the word of God, even as a door is opened with a key. Contrariwise, that the wicked and wilful folk, and such as would not believe nor return into the right way, should be left still as fast locked and shut up, and, as St. Paul saith, wax worse and worse. This take we to be the meaning of the keys; and that after this sort men's consciences either to be opened or shut. We say, that the priest indeed is a judge in this case, but yet hath no manner of right to challenge an authority, or power, as saith Ambrose. And therefore our Saviour Jesu Christ, to reprove the negligence of the Scribes and Pharisees in teaching, did with these words rebuke them, saying, "Woe be unto you

2 Tim. iii. 13.

[Ch. 7. div. 3. iv. p. 531.]

[Ch. 7. div. 4. iv. p. 535.]

De Pœnit. dist. 1. Verb. Dei.

[18] [The genuineness of this work is doubtful.]

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[PART II.] Scribes and Pharisees, which have taken away the keys of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men." Seeing then the key whereby the way and entry to the kingdom of God is opened unto us is the word of the gospel, and the expounding of the law and scriptures, we say plainly, where the same word is not, there is not the key. And seeing one manner of word is given to all, and one only key belongeth to all, we say, that there is but one only power of all ministers, as concerning opening and shutting. And as touching the bishop of Rome, for all his[19] parasites state and ringly[20] sing those words in his ears, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (as though those keys were fit for him alone, and for nobody else,) except he go so to work, as men's consciences may be made pliant, and be subdued to the word of God, we deny that he doth either open, or shut, or hath the keys at all. And although he taught and instructed the people, (as would God he might once truly do, and persuade himself it were at the least some piece of his duty,) yet we think his key to be never a whit better, or of greater force than other men's. For who hath severed him from the rest? who hath taught him more cunningly to open, or better to absolve than his brethren?

[Ch. 7. div. 5. iv. p. 537.]

[Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1. tom. iii. 525.] [Basil. in vit. sol. cap. 22. ii. 573.] [Cyp. de simp. præl. p. 195.]

We say, that matrimony is holy and honourable in all sorts and states of persons, in the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in holy martyrs, in the ministers of the church, and in bishops: and that it is an honest and lawful thing (as Chrysostom saith) for a man living in matrimony, to take upon him therewith the dignity of a bishop. And as Sozomenus saith of Spiridion[21]; and as Nazianzen saith of his own father, [22] that a good and diligent bishop doth serve in the ministry never the worse for that he is married, but rather the better, and with more

[Ch. 8. div. 1. iv. p. 543.]

[Ch. 8. div. 2. iv. p. 589.]

Chrys. in Ep. ad Tit. Hom. 2. [tom. xi. 738. A.] [Sozom. Lib. 1. c. 11. tom. ii. 22.] Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5. Naz. in Monod. de Basil. [i. 335.]

[19] [Def. of Apol. "flattering parasites."]

[20] [Def. of Apol. omits "ringlie."]

[21] [Harding animadverts upon the mistake in the reference to Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5: which he says ought to be Ruffini lib. 10. c. 5. The reference to Sozomenus has been added by the editor.]

[22] [In the Def. of Apol. "we say" is added.]

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[Ch. 8. div. 3 v. p. 599.] ableness to do good. Further we say, that the same law which by constraint taketh away this liberty from men, and compelleth them against their wills to live single, is the doctrine of devils, as Paul saith: and that ever sithence the time of this law, a wonderful uncleanness of life and manners in God's ministers, and sundry horrible enormities have followed, as the bishop of Augusta[23], as Faber, as Abbas Panormitanus, as Latomus, as the Tripartite work, which is annexed to the second tome of the Councils, and other champions of the pope's band, yea, and as the matter itself and all histories do confess. For it was rightly said by Pius the Second, bishop of Rome, "that he saw many causes why wives should be taken away from priests, but that he saw many mo, and more weighty causes why they ought to be restored them again." [PART II.] 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. [Ap. Paral. Urnperg. p. 436.] [Panorm. in lib. 3. Decret. tom. iii. pt. 16. col. 8. a.] [Crabb. Concil. ii. p. 1002.] Platina in Vita Pii Secundi [sub fin.]

[Ch. 9. div. 1. iv. p. 619.] We receive and embrace all the canonical scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, giving thanks to our God, who hath raised up unto us that light which we might ever have before our eyes, lest either by the subtlety of man, or by the snares of the devil, we should be carried away to errors and lies. Also[24] that these be the heavenly voices, whereby God hath opened unto us his will: and that only in them man's heart can have settled rest: that in them he abundantly and fully comprehended all things, whatsoever be needful for our salvation[25], as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyrillus have taught: that they be the very might and strength of God to attain to salvation: that they be the foundations of the prophets and apostles, whereupon is built the church of God: that they be the very sure and infallible rule, whereby may be tried, whether the church do stagger[26], or err, and whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account: and that against these scriptures neither law, nor ordinance, nor any custom ought to be heard: no, though Paul his

[23] [Huldericus bishop of Augusta in Germany. See vol. iv. p. 615. note [88].]

[24] [Def. Apol. adds "we profess."]

[25] [Def. Apol. "health."]

[26] [Def. Apol. "swerve."]

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[PART II.] own self, or an angel from heaven should come and teach the contrary.

Moreover, we allow the sacraments of the church, that is to say, certain holy signs and ceremonies, which Christ would we should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm our faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. And these sacraments, together with Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Hierom, Chrysostom, Basil, Dionysius, and other catholic fathers, do we call figures, signs, marks or badges, prints, copies, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, patterns, representations, remembrances, and memories[27]. And we make no doubt, together with the same doctors, to say, that these be certain visible words, seals of righteousness, tokens of grace: and do expressly pronounce, that in the Lord's supper there is truly given[28] unto the believing the body and blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, grace, truth, and life: and the supper to be the communion of the body and blood of Christ: by the partaking whereof we be received, we be strengthened, and be fed unto immortality: and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in us. [Ch. 10. div. 1. iv. p. 1.] [Ch. 11. div. 1. v. p. 13.]

Besides, we acknowledge there be two sacraments, which, we judge, properly ought to be called by this name; that is to say, baptism, and the sacrament of thanksgiving. For thus many we see were delivered and sanctified by Christ, and well allowed of the old fathers, Ambrose, and Augustine[29]. [Ch. 11. div. 2. v. p. 23.] [Ambros. de Sacr.] [August. de doctr. Christ. iii. 49.]

We say, that baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing, which we have in the blood of [Ch. 11. div. 3. v. p. 30.]

[27] [See Replie, Art. xii. supra, vol. iii. 133.]

[28] [Apol. Lat. "exhiberi:" the translation of 1562 renders it by "are delivered."]

[29] [Def. Apol. adds "and such others."]

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Christ: and that no person, which will profess Christ's name, ought to be restrained or kept back therefrom; no, not the very babes of Christians: forasmuch as they be born in sin, and do pertain unto the people of God. [PART II.]

[Ch. 12. div. 1. v. p. 38.] We say, that eucharistia, that is to say, the supper of the Lord, is a sacrament, that is to wit, an evident token[30] of the body and blood of Christ, wherein is set, as it were, before our eyes, the death of Christ, and his resurrection, and what act soever he did whilst he was in his mortal body: to the end we may give him thanks for his death, and for our deliverance. And that, by the often receiving of this sacrament[31], we may daily renew the remembrance of that matter[32], to the intent we, being fed with the body and blood of Christ, may be brought into the hope of the resurrection, and of everlasting life, and may most assuredly believe, that the body and blood of Christ doth in like manner feed our souls, as bread and wine doth feed our bodies[33]. To this banquet we think the people of God ought to be earnestly bidden, that they may all communicate among themselves, and openly declare and testify both the godly society which is among them, and also the hope which they have in Christ Jesu. For this cause, if there had been any, which would be but a looker on, and abstain from the holy communion, him did the old fathers and bishops of Rome in the primitive church, before private mass came up, excommunicate as a wicked person, and as a pagan. Neither was there any Christian at that time which did communicate alone, whiles other looked on. For so did Calixtus in times past decree, "that after the consecration was finished, all should communicate, except they had rather stand without the church doors: because thus" (saith he) "did the apostles appoint, and the same the holy church of Rome keepeth still."

[Ch. 12. div. 2. v. p. 50.]

Chrys. ad Eph. hom. 3. cap. 1. [tom. xi. 23.]

Dist. 2. Seculares.

De cons. dist. 2. cap. Peracta.

[30] [Changed in Def. Apol. into "representation."]

[31] [Apol. Lat. "sacramentorum."]

[32] [Altered in Def. Apol. into "thereof."]

[33] [This passage in the Def. Apol. stands thus, "that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine, so our souls be fed with the body and blood of Christ."]

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[PART II.] Moreover, when the people cometh to the holy communion, the sacrament ought to be given them in both kinds: for so both Christ hath commanded, and the apostles in every place have ordained, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops have followed the same. And whoso doth contrary to this, he (as Gelasius saith)[34] committeth sacrilege. And therefore we say, that our adversaries at this day, who having violently thrust out and quite forbidden the holy communion, do, without the word of God, without the authority of any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, yea and without reason also, defend and maintain their private masses[35], and the mangling of the sacraments, and do this not only against the plain express commandment and bidding of Christ, but also against all antiquity, do wickedly therein, and are very church-robbers. [Ch. 12. div. 3. v. p. 60.]

De cons. dist. 2. Comperimus.

We affirm, that bread and wine are holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that by them Christ himself, being the true bread of eternal life, is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily receive his body and his blood. Yet say we not this so, as though we thought that the nature and substance of the bread and wine is clearly changed, and goeth to nothing: as many have dreamed in these later times, which yet could never agree among themself of this their dream[36]. For that was not Christ's meaning, that the wheaten bread should lay apart his own nature, and receive a certain new divinity: but that he might rather change us, and (to use Theophylact's words) might transform us into his body[37]. For what can be said more plainly than that which Ambrose saith, "Bread and wine remain still the same they were before; and yet are changed into another thing[38]?" or that which Gelasius saith, "The substance of the bread, [Ch. 13. div. 1. v. p. 67.] [Vol. v. p. 70.] [Vol. v. p. 79.] In Johan. vi. [p. 447.] [Vol. v. p. 92.] [Vol. v. p. 94.] De Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. [ll. 369.] Gelas. contr. Eutych. [ap. [Vol. v. p. 112.]

[34] [Supra, vol. i. p. 431. "Aut "integra sacramenta percipiant, "aut ab integris arceantur. Quia "divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii "sine grandi sacrilegio non potest "pervenire."]

[35] [Replie, Art. i. vol. 1. 157.]

[36] [Def. Apol. "upon their own dreams."]

[37] [Replie, supra, vol. iii. p. 106. note 33.]

[38] [Supra, i. 188. note 30.]

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[PART II.]

or the nature of the wine, ceaseth not so [39] to be:" or that which Theodoret saith, "After the consecration the mystical signs do not cast off their own proper nature: for they remain still in their former substance, form, and kind [40]:" or that which Augustine [41] saith, "That which ye see is the bread and cup, for so our eyes tell us: but that which your faith requireth to be taught is this; the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood:" or that which Origen saith, "The bread which is sanctified by the word of God, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy:" or that which Christ himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but [42] after he had ministered the communion: "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine?" It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood.

[Vol. v. p. 121.] Routh. Opuscul. ii. 139.] Dial. 1 and 2. [tom. iv. 85.] [Vol. v. p. 122.] Serm. ad Infant. [v. 1103. 1104.] [Vol. v. p. 124.] Orig. in Matt. hom. 15. [iii. 499.] [Vol. v. p. 129.] Matt. xxvi. 29. [Chrys. in Matt. hom. 83. tom. vii. 784.]

[Ch. 14. div. 1. v. p. 137.] And in speaking thus, we mean not to abase the Lord's supper, that it is but a cold ceremony only, and nothing to be wrought therein; (as many falsely slander us we teach.) For we affirm, that Christ doth truly and presently give [43] his own self [44] in his sacraments: in baptism, that we may put him on; and in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit, and may have everlasting life by his cross and blood. And we say not, this is done slightly and coldly, but effectually and truly. For although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by the spirit. And it is no vain faith which doth comprehend Christ: and that is not received with cold devotion, that is received with understanding, with faith, and with spirit. For Christ himself altogether is so offered and given us in these mysteries, that we may certainly know we be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; and

[39] ["So" is omitted in Def. Apol.]

[40] [Theodoret: see the original printed supra, iii. 8. note [6], and p. 57. note [46]: also Routh's Opuscul. with the notes, ii. 132. For the meaning of the terms "forma" and "natura," see supra, vol. iv. 327.]

[41] [August. serm. ad inf., supra, vol. ii. 329. note [26].]

[42] [Def. Apol. "also."]

[43] [Apol. Lat. "exhibet."]

[44] [Def. Apol. adds "wholly."]

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[PART II.] that Christ "continueth in us, and we in him." And [Ch. 14. div. 2. v. p. 154.]
Decons. dist. 1. Quando. therefore in celebrating these mysteries, the people are to good purpose exhorted before they come to receive the holy communion, to lift up their hearts, and to direct their minds to heaven-ward: because he is there, by whom we
Ad object. Theodoretl. [Anath. 11. ed. 1546, vol. iv. 215.] must be full[45] fed, and live. Cyrill saith, when we come [Ch. 14. div. 3. v. p. 160.] to receive these mysteries, all gross imaginations must quite be banished[46]. The council of Nice, as[47] is alleged [Ch. 14. div. 4. v. p. 165.]
[Manul ii. 888.] by some in Greek[48], plainly forbiddeth us to be basely affectioned, or bent toward the bread and wine, which are
Chrysost. in 1 Cor. x. [Hom. 24. tom. x. 216.] set before us. And, as Chrysostom very aptly writeth, [Ch. 14. div. 5. v. p. 171.] we say, "that the body of Christ is the dead carcase, and we ourselves must be the eagles:" meaning thereby, that we must fly[49] high, if we will come unto the body of Christ. "For this table," as Chrysostom saith, "is a table
[Cypr. l. Arnold. De Cœnœ Dom. App. cxiv.] of eagles, and not of jays." Cyprian also, "This bread," saith he, "is the food of the soul, and not the meat of the belly[50]." And Augustine[51], "How shall I hold him," [Ch. 14. div. 6. v. p. 178.]
In Johan. Tract. 50. [iii. pt. 2. 630.] saith he, "which is absent[52]? How shall I reach my hand up to heaven, to lay hold upon him that sitteth[53] there?" He answereth, "Reach thither thy faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him."

We cannot also away in our churches with the shows, [Ch. 15. div. 1. v. p. 182.] and sales, and buying and selling[54] of masses, nor the carrying about and worshipping of bread[55]: nor such other idolatrous and blasphemous fondness: which none of them can prove that Christ or his apostles did ever ordain or left unto us. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome, who, without the word of God, without the authority of the holy fathers, without any example of antiquity, after a new guise, do not only set before the people the sacramental bread to be worshipped as God,

[45] ["Full" is omitted in Def. Apol.]
[46] [See Replie, Art. viii. div. 16. supra, vol. iii. 26. The passage from St. Cyrill is found only in the Lat. ed. of his works: see supra, vol. i. 226. note [62], and p. 243. note [78].]
[47] [Def. Apol. "it is alleged."]
[48] [Supra vol. ii. 358. note [53].]
[49] [Def. Apol. "on high."]
[50] [See note [4]. vol. v. p. 172.]
[51] [Def. Apol. "St. Augustine saith."]
[52] [Def. Apol. "being absent."]
[53] [Def. Apol. "sitting there."]
[54] [Def. Apol. "markets."]
[55] [Def. Apol. "the bread."]

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but do also carry about the same upon an ambling horse[56], whithersoever themselves journey, as[57] in old times the Persians' fire, and the relics of the goddess Isis, were solemnly carried about in procession: and have brought the sacraments of Christ to be used now as a stage play, and a solemn sight: to the end that men's eyes should be fed with nothing else but with mad gazings, and foolish gauds, in the self-same matter, wherein the death of Christ ought diligently to be beaten into our hearts, and wherein also the mysteries of our redemption ought with all holiness and reverence to be executed. [PART II.] In libr. de Cærem. Romanæ eccl. [lib. 1. sect. 12. c. 1. fol. 119. ed. 1572.]

[Ch. 15. div. 2. v. p. 192.] Besides, where they say, and sometime do persuade fools, that they are able by their masses to distribute and apply unto men's commodity all the merits of Christ's death, yea, although many times the parties think nothing of the matter, and understand full little what is done, this is a mockery, an heathenish fancy, and a very toy. For it is our faith that applieth the death and cross of Christ to our benefit, and not the act of the massing priest. "Faith had in the sacraments," (saith Augustine) doth justify, and not the sacraments." And Origen saith, "Christ is the priest, the propitiation, and sacrifice: which propitiation cometh to every one by mean of faith." So that by this reckoning, we say, that the sacraments of Christ without faith do not once[58] profit these that be alive: a great deal less do they profit those that be dead. Origen. ad Rom. lib. 3. cap. 3. [iv. 515.]

[Ch. 16. div. 1. v. p. 198.] And as for their brags they are wont to make of their purgatory, though we know, it is not a thing so very late risen amongst them[59], yet is it no better than a blockish and an old wives' device.

[Ch. 16. div. 2. v. p. 205.] Augustine indeed sometime saith, there is such a certain place: sometime he denieth not, but there may be such a one: sometime he doubteth: sometime again he utterly denieth it to be[60], and thinketh, that men are therein deceived by a certain natural good will they bear their August. ad Psalm lxxxv. [iv. 912.] August. lib. Hypogn. [5. tom. x. app. 40.] In Enchirid. cap. 6. 7. [vi. 222.] De Civ. Dei 21. cap. 29. [vii. 646.]

[56] [Def. Apol. "palfrey."]

[57] [Def. Apol. "in such sort as."]

[58] ["once" is omitted in the Def. Apol.]

[59] [Apol. Lat. "non ita novum."]

[60] [Def. Apol. "there is any at all." The Libri Hypognosticωv are not by St. Augustine.]

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[PART II.] friends departed[61]. But yet of this one error hath there grown up such a harvest of these mass-mongers, the masses being sold abroad commonly in every corner, the temples of God became shops, to get money: and silly souls were persuaded[62] that nothing was more necessary to be bought. Indeed there was nothing more gainful for these men to sell.

As touching the multitude of vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that Augustine[63] did grievously complain of them in his own time: and therefore have we cut off a great number of them, because we know that men's consciences were cumbered about them, and the churches of God overladen with them. Nevertheless we keep still and esteem, not only those ceremonies which we are sure were delivered us from the apostles, but some others too besides, which we thought might be suffered without hurt to the church of God[64]: because that we had a desire that all things in the holy congregation might, (as St. Paul commandeth) "be done with comeliness, and in good order." But as for all those things which we saw were either very superstitious, or wholly unprofitable, or noisome, or mockeries, or contrary to the holy scriptures, or else unseemly for honest or discreet folks, as there be an infinite number now-a-days where papistry[65] is used: these, I say, we have utterly refused without all manner exception, because we would not have the right worshipping of God any longer defiled with such follies.

[Ch. 17. div. 1. v. p. 214.]

S. August. ep. 119. ad Januar. [tom. ii. 142.]

1 Cor. xiv. 40.

We make our prayers in that tongue which all our people, as meet is, may understand, to the end they may (as Paul counselleth us) take common commodity by common prayer, even as all the holy fathers and catholic bishops, both in the Old and New Testament, did use to pray themselves, and taught the people to pray too: lest,

[Ch. 18. div. 1. iv. p. 218.]

1 Cor. xiv.

[61] [Besides the passages of St. Augustine, cited in the margin, see his 80th Epistle, ii. 743: and the work of Fulgentius under St. Augustine's name ad Petr. Diacon. cap. 3. vi. app. 26.]

[62] [Def. Apol. "borne in hand."]

[63] [Def. Apol. "St. Augustine."]

[64] [This is probably the place cited in the 30th Can. (1604), as from the Apology of the Church of England. See Cardwell's Synodalia, vol. i. p. 180.]

[65] [Def. Apol. "the Roman religion."]

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as Augustine saith, "like parrots and ousels we should seem to speak that we understand not." [PART. II.] [S. August. in Psalm. 18. Enarr. 2. tom. iv. 81.]

Neither have we any other *mediator* and *intercessor*, by whom we may have access to God the Father, than[66] Jesus Christ, in whose only name all things are obtained at his Father's hand. But it is a shameful part, and full of infidelity, that we see everywhere used in the churches of our adversaries, not only in that they will have innumerable sorts of *mediators*, and that utterly without the authority of God's word; (so that, as Jeremy saith, "the saints be now as many in number, or rather above the number of the cities;" and poor men cannot tell, to which saint it were best to turn them first: and though there be so many as they cannot be told, yet every one of them hath his peculiar duty and office assigned unto him of these folks, what thing they ought to ask, what to give, and what to bring to pass:) but besides this also, in that they donot only wickedly, but also shamefully, call upon the *blessed Virgin*, Christ's mother, to have her *remember that she is the mother*, and to *command her Son*, and to use *a mother's authority over him*[67]. Jerem. ii. 28. and xi. 13.

[Ch. 19. div. 1. v. p. 232.] We say also, that every person is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin: that nobody is able truly to say his *heart is clean:* that the most righteous person is but an *unprofitable servant:* that the law of God is perfect, and requireth of us perfect and full obedience: that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life: that there is no one mortal creature which can be justified by his own deserts in God's sight: and therefore that our only succour and refuge is to fly to the mercy of our Father by Jesu Christ, and assuredly to persuade our minds that he is the obtainer of forgiveness for our sins; and that by his blood all our spots of sin be washed clean:

[66] [Def. Apol. "but only."]

[67] [See note [36], supra, vol. v. p. 219. The words "monstra te esse "matrem" occur in the hymn "Ave Maris stella," Brev. Rom. part. æst. offic. B. M. in Sabb. The form "Jure matris impera tuo "dilectissimo Filio," is from Bonaventura (a *Romish Canonized Saint*), opp. vol. vi. p. 406.]

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[PART II.] that he hath pacified and set at one all things by the blood of his cross: that he by the same one only sacrifice, which he once offered upon the cross, hath brought to effect and fulfilled all things, and that for that cause he said, when he gave up the ghost, "It is finished," as though he would signify, that the price and ransom was now full paid for the sin of all mankind. If there be any then that think this sacrifice not sufficient, let them go in God's name, and seek another that is better. We verily, because we know this to be the only sacrifice, are well content with it alone, and look for none other: and forasmuch as it was to be offered but once, we command it not to be renewed again: and, because it was full, and perfect in all points and parts, we do not ordain in place thereof any continual succession of offerings.

Besides, though we say, we have no meed at all by our own works and deeds, but appoint all the means of our salvation to be in Christ alone, yet say we not, that for this cause men ought to live loosely and dissolutely: nor that it is enough for a Christian to be baptized only and to believe: as though there were nothing else required at his hand. For true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle. Thus therefore teach we the people, that God hath called us, not to follow riot and wantonness, but, as St. Paul saith, "unto good works, to walk in them:" that God hath plucked us out[68] "from the power of darkness, to the end that we should serve the living God:" to cut away all the remnants of sin, and "to work our salvation in fear and trembling:" that it may appear, how that the spirit of sanctification is in our bodies, and that Christ himself doth dwell in our hearts[69].

[Ch. 20. div. 1. v. p. 288.]

Eph. ii. 10.

To conclude, we believe, that this our self-same flesh wherein we live, although it die, and come to dust, yet at the last day it shall return again to life, by the means of Christ's Spirit which dwelleth in us: and that then verily,

[Ch. 21. div. 1. v. p. 250.]

[Rom. viii. 11.]

[68] [Def. Apol. "we are delivered."]

[69] [In the Latin the words "per fidem" are added.]

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whatsoever we suffer here in the meanwhile for his sake, [PART II.] Christ will wipe away all tears and lamentation[70] from our eyes: and that we through him shall enjoy everlasting life, and shall for ever be with him in glory. So be it.

[Ch. I. div. I. v. p. 260.]

Behold, these are the horrible heresies, for the which a [PART. III.] good part of the world is at this day condemned by the bishop of Rome; and yet were never heard to plead their cause. He should have commenced his suit rather against Christ, against the apostles, and against the holy fathers. For these things did not only proceed from them, but were also appointed by them: except perhaps these men will say (as I think they will indeed), that Christ never instituted the holy *communion* to be divided amongst the faithful; or that Christ's apostles and the ancient fathers said *private* masses in every corner of the temples, now ten, now twenty together in one day[71]: or that Christ and his apostles banished all the common people from the sacrament *of his blood:* or that the thing, which they themselves do at this day everywhere, and do it so as they condemn him for an heretic which doth otherwise, is not called of Gelasius, their own doctor, plain *sacrilege:* or that these be not the very words of Ambrose, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom and Origen; "The bread and wine in the sacraments remain still the same they were before[72]:" "The thing which is seen upon the holy table is bread[73]:" "There ceaseth not to be still the substance of bread, and nature of wine:" "The substance and nature of bread are not changed[74]:" "The self-same bread, as touching the material substance, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy[75]:" or that Christ, the apostles, and holy fathers prayed not in that tongue which the people might understand: or that Christ hath

[Ambr. de Sacr. lib. 4. c. 4. tom. ii. 369.]
[Aug. Serm. ad Inf. v. 1103. 1104.]
[Gelas. contr. Eutych. ap. Routh Opusc. ii. 139.]
[Theodoret. Dial. 1. et 2. tom. iv. 85.]
[Chrys. ad Cæsarium, iii. 744.]
[Origen. in Matt. Hom. 15. tom. iii. 499.]

70 [Def. Apol. "heaviness."]
71 [Supra, vol. iii. 189.]
72 [S. Ambros. de Sacr. supra, vol. i. 188. note 30.]
73 [S. August. supra, vol. ii. 329. note 26.]
74 [Theodoret. See the original, supra, vol. iii. p. 8. note 6, and p. 57. note 46. S. Chrysost. ad Cæsar. supra, iii. p. 54.]
75 [Origen. in Matt. See the original printed supra, vol. v. p. 68. note 46.]

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[PART. III.] not performed all things by that one offering which he once offered[75]: or that the same sacrifice was unperfect, and so now we have need of another. All these things must they of necessity say, unless perchance they had rather say thus, that "all law and right is locked up in the treasury of the pope's breast," and that, as once one of his soothing pages and claw-backs did not stick to say, "the pope is able to dispense against the apostles," against a *council,* and against the *canons* and rules of the *apostles:* and that he is not bound to stand neither to the examples, nor to the ordinances, nor to the laws of Christ[76]. We, for our part, have learned these things of Christ, of the apostles, of the devout fathers: and do sincerely with good faith teach the people of God the same. Which thing is the only cause why we at this day are called heretics of the chief prelates (no doubt) of religion. O immortal God! hath Christ himself then, the apostles, and so many fathers all at once gone astray? Were then Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoret, forsakers of the catholic faith? was so notable a consent of so many ancient bishops and learned men nothing else, but a conspiracy of heretics? or is that now condemned in us, which was then commended in them? or is the thing now, by alteration only of men's[77] affections, suddenly become schismatic, which in them was counted catholic? or shall that which in times past was true[78], now by and by, because it liketh not these men, be judged false? let them then bring forth another gospel, and let them shew the causes, why these things, which so long have openly been observed and well allowed in the church of God, ought now in the end to be called in again. We know well enough, that the same word which was opened by Christ, and spread abroad by the apostles,

[In 6to, De const. Licet Roman.]

[Dist. 34. Lector: in Gloss.]

[Dist. 82. Presbyter.]

[Summ. Angel. in dictione Papa: No. 1.]

[Ch. 1. div. 2. v. p. 267.]

[Ch. 1. div. 3. v. p. 271.]

[75] [Def. Apol. adds "upon the cross."]

[76] [See a large collection of authorities for these blasphemous ascriptions of the dispensing power to the pope, supra, vol. v. pp. 268, 269, 270. and also p. 550.]

[77] [Apol. Lat. "hominum." In the Def. Apol. this is altered to "one man's."]

[78] [Def. Apol. "undoubtedly true."]

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is sufficient, both our salvation and all truth[79] to uphold and maintain; and also to confound all manner of heresy. By that word only do we condemn all sorts of the old heretics, whom these men say we have called out of hell again. As for the Arians, the Eutychians, the Marcionites, the Ebionites, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, the Tatians, the Novatians, and shortly, all them which have a wicked opinion, either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other point of Christian religion, forsomuch as they be confuted by the gospel of Christ, we plainly pronounce them for detestable and castaway[80] persons, and defy them even unto the devil. Neither do we leave them so, but we also severely and straitly hold them in by lawful and politic punishments, if they fortune to break out anywhere, and bewray themselves. [PART. III.]

[Ch. 3. div. 1. v. p. 275.]

Indeed we grant that certain new and very strange sects, as the Anabaptists, Libertines, Menonians, and Zuenckfeldians, have been stirring in the world ever since the gospel did first spring. But the world seeth now right well, thanks be given to our God, that we neither have bred, nor taught, nor kept up these monsters. In good fellowship, I pray thee, whosoever thou be, read our books: they are to be sold in every place. What hath there ever been written by any of our company, which might plainly bear with the madness of any of those heretics. Nay, I say unto you, there is no country this day so free from their pestilent infections, as they be, wherein the gospel is freely and commonly taught[81]. So that if they weigh the very matter with earnest and upright advisement, this thing is a great argument[82], that this same is the very truth of the gospel of Christ which we do teach. For lightly neither is cockle wont to grow without the wheat, nor yet the chaff without the corn. For from the very apostles' times, who knoweth not how many here-

[79] [Def. Apol. "both to our salvation, and also to uphold and maintain all truth."]

[80] [Def. Apol. "damned."]

[81] [Def. Apol. "preached."]

[82] [Def. Apol. "argument of our part."]

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[PART. III.] sies did rise up even together, so soon as the gospel was first spread abroad? Who ever had heard tell of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucianus, and Severus[83], before the apostles were sent abroad? But why stand we reckoning up these? Epiphanius rehearseth up fourscore sundry heresies; and Augustine many mo, which sprang up even together with the gospel. What then? Was the gospel therefore not the gospel, because heresies sprang up withal? or was Christ therefore not Christ[84]? And yet, as we said, doth not this great crop and heap of heresies grow up amongst us, which do openly, abroad, and frankly teach the gospel? These poisons take their beginnings, their increasings, and strength, amongst our adversaries, in blindness and in darkness, amongst whom truth is with cruelty and tyranny kept under, and cannot be heard but in corners and secret meetings. But let them make a proof: let them give the gospel free passage: let the truth of Jesu Christ give his clear light, and stretch forth his bright beams into all parts: and then shall they forthwith see, how all these shadows straight will vanish and pass away at the light of the gospel, even as the thick mist of the night consumeth at the sight of the sun. For whilst these men sit still, and make merry, and do nothing[85], we continually repress and put back all those heresies, which they falsely charge us to nourish and maintain.

Where they say, that we have fallen into sundry sects, and would be called some of us Lutherians, and some of us Zuinglians, and cannot yet well agree among ourselves touching the whole substance of doctrine: what would these men have said, if they had been in the first times [1 Cor. i. 12.] of the apostles and holy fathers, when one said, "I hold

[Ch. 3. div. 1. v. p. 280.]

[83] [Def. Apol. adds "and other like."]

[84] [There is nothing in the Latin, or in lady Bacon's version, to correspond to the sentence, which is added in Def. Apol. "or was Christ and his gospel the cause of these heresies?"]

[85] [Apol. Lat. "illis interim "sedentibus atque aliud agen- "tibus."]

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of Paul;" another, "I hold of Cephas;" another, "I hold of Apollo?" when Paul did so sharply rebuke Peter? when, upon a falling out, Barnabas departed from Paul? [PART III.] [Gal. ii. 11.] [Acts xx. 39.] when, as Origen mentioneth, the Christians were divided into so many factions, as that they kept no more but the name of Christians in common among them, being in no manner of thing else like unto Christians? when, as Socrates saith, for their dissensions and sundry sects, they were laughed and jested at openly of the people in the common [86] game-plays? when, as Constantine the emperor affirmeth, there were such a number of variances and brawlings in the church, that it might justly seem a misery far passing all the former miseries? when also Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ruffine, Hierom, being all Christians, being all fathers, being all catholics, did strive [87] one against another with most bitter and remediless contentions without end? when, as saith Nazianzen, the parts of one body were consumed and wasted one of another? when the east part [88] was divided from the west, only for leavened bread and only for keeping of Easter day; which were indeed no great matters to be strived for? and when in all councils *new creeds* and *new decrees* continually were devised [89]? What would these men (trow ye) have said in those days? which side would they specially then have taken? and which would they then have forsaken? which gospel would they have believed? whom would they have accounted for heretics, and whom for catholics? And yet what a stir and revel keep they at this time upon two poor names only of Luther and Zuinglius? Because these two men do not yet fully agree upon some one point [90], therefore would they needs have us think that both of them were deceived; that

[Socr. lib. i. c. 6. tom. ii. 14.]

[Ch. 4. div. 1. v. p. 283.]

[86] [Def. Apol. "stages and common."]

[87] [Def. Apol. "quarrelled."]

[88] [Def. Apol. "the whole east part of the church."]

[89] [See the Def. of Apol. v. 281, for specimens of these quarrels, and mutual accusations of heresy.]

[90] [Def. Apol. "are not yet fully resolved upon some one certain point of doctrine."]

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[PART III.] neither of them had the gospel; and that neither of them taught the truth aright.

But, good God, what manner of fellows be these, which blame us for disagreeing? And do all they themselves, ween you, agree well together? Is every one of them fully resolved what to follow? Hath there been no strifes, no debates, no quarrels among them at no time? Why then do the Scotists and the Thomists, about that they call *meritum congrui*, and *meritum condigni*, no better agree together? Why agree they no better among themselves concerning *original sin in the blessed Virgin;* concerning a *solemn vow* and a *single vow?* Why say the [91] *canonists* that *auricular confession* is appointed by the *positive law of man:* and the [91] *schoolmen* contrariwise, that it is appointed by the *law of God?* Why doth Albertus Pius dissent from Cajetanus? Why doth Thomas dissent from Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Occamus from Scotus, Alliacensis [ed. 1564 Alliensis] from Occamus? And why do the [91] *Nominals* disagree from the [91] *Reals?* And yet say I nothing of so many diversities of friars and monks; how some of them put a great holiness in eating of fish, and some in eating of herbs: some in wearing of shoes, and some in wearing of sandals: some in going in a linen garment, and some in a woollen: some of them called white, some black: some being shaven broad, and some narrow: some stalking abroad upon pattens [92], some barefooted [93]: some girt, and some ungirt. They ought, I wiss, to remember, how there be some of their own company, which say, that the body of Christ is in his supper *naturally:* contrary, other some of the self-same company deny it to be so [94]. Again, that there be other of them, which say, the body of Christ in the holy communion "is rent and torn with our teeth:" and some again that deny the same. Some also of them there be, which write, that the body of Christ is *quantum* in the eucharistia [95]; that is to

[Ch. 5. div. 1. v. p. 288.]

J. Gardiner in Sophis. diab.: Rich. Smith: Recant. Bereng. Schol. et Glossa: Gulmundas: de Consec. dist. 2. Ego Berengar.

[Supra vol. II. 392.]

[91] [Def. Apol. "their."]
[92] [Apol. Lat. "soleati."]
[93] [Def. Apol. "going barefooted."]
[94] [Def. Apol. "utterly."]
[95] [Def. Apol. "in the sacrament."]

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say, hath his perfect *quantity* in the sacrament: some other again say nay. That there be others of them, which say, Christ did consecrate with a certain divine power: some, that he did the same with his blessing: some again that say, he did it with uttering five solemn chosen words: and some, with rehearsing the same words afterward again. Some will have it, that, when Christ did speak those five words, the material wheaten bread was pointed by this demonstrative pronoun *hoc:* some had rather have that a certain *vagum individuum*, as they term it, was meant thereby. Again, others there be that say, *dogs and mice* may truly and in very deed eat the body of Christ: and others again there be that steadfastly deny it. There be others, which say, that the very accidents of bread and wine may nourish: others again there be, which say, how that the substance of bread doth return again[96]. What need I say more? It were over long and tedious to reckon up all things. So very uncertain, and full of controversies, is yet the whole form of these men's religion and doctrine, even amongst themselves, from whence it did first spring and begin. For hardly at any time do they well agree between themselves: except it be peradventure as, in times past, the Pharisees and Sadducees; or as Herod and Pilate did accord against Christ. They were best therefore to go and set peace at home rather among their own selves. Of a truth unity and concord doth best become religion: yet is not *unity* the sure and certain mark whereby to know the church of God. For there was the greatest consent that might be amongst them that worshipped the golden calf, and among them which with one voice jointly cried against our Saviour Jesus Christ, "Crucify him." Neither, because the Corinthians were unquieted with private dissensions: or because Paul did square with Peter, or Barnabas with Paul: or, because the Christians, upon the very beginning of the gospel, were at mutual discord touching some one matter or

[PART III.]

[Supra vol. iii. 464.] Gardiner.

[Supra vol. iii. 455.]

[Ch. 6. div. v. p. 304.]

[96] [In the Def. of Apol. these words are added, "by a miracle." The Apol. Lat. has simply, "redire substantiam."]

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[PART III.] other, may we therefore think there was no church of God amongst them. And as for those persons, whom they upon spite call Zuinglians and Lutherians, in very deed they of both sides be Christians, good friends, and brethren. They vary not betwixt themselves upon the principles and foundations of our religion, nor as touching God, nor Christ, nor the Holy Ghost, nor of the means of justification, nor yet everlasting life, but upon one only question, which is neither weighty nor great: neither mistrust we, or make doubt at all, but they will shortly be agreed. And if there be any of them which have other opinion than is meet, we doubt not but ere it be long they will put apart all affections and names of parties, and that God will reveal it[96] unto them: so that by better considering and searching out of the matter, as once it came to pass in the *council of Chalcedon*, all causes and seeds of dissension shall be thoroughly plucked up by the root, and be buried, and quite forgotten for ever. Which God grant.

But this is the most grievous and heavy case[97], that they call us wicked and ungodly men, and say we have thrown away all care of religion. Though this ought not to trouble us much, whilst they themselves that thus have charged us know full well how spiteful and false a saying it is[98]: for Justin the martyr is a witness, how that all Christians were called ἄθεοι, that is, *godless*, as soon as the gospel first began to be published, and the name of Christ to be openly declared. And when Polycarpus stood to be judged, the people stirred up the president to slay and murder all them which professed the gospel, with these words, Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, that is to say, "Rid out of the way these wicked and godless creatures." And this was not because it was true that the Christians were *godless*, but because they would not worship stones and stocks, which were then honoured as God. The whole world seeth plainly enough already, what we and ours have endured at these men's hands for religion and our only God's cause.

[Ch. 7. div. 1. et 2. v. p. 311.]

[Just. Mart. Apol. I. p. 47.]

[Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15.]

[96] [Def. Apol. "the truth."]

[97] [Def. Apol. "the heaviest and most grievous part of their slanders."]

[98] [Def. Apol. "how spiteful and untrue their slander is."]

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They have thrown us into prison, into water, into fire, and imbrued themselves in our blood: not because we were either adulterers, or robbers, or murderers, but only for that we confessed the gospel of Jesu Christ, and put our confidence in the living God: and for that we complained too justly and truly (Lord, thou knowest), that they did break the law of God for their own most vain traditions: and that our adversaries were the very foes to the gospel, and enemies to Christ's cross, who so wittingly and willingly did obstinately despise God's commandments. Wherefore, when these men saw they could not rightly find fault with our doctrine, they would needs pick a quarrel, and inveigh and rail against our manners, surmising, how that we do condemn all well-doings: that we set open the door to all licentiousness and lust, and lead away the people from all love of virtue. And in very deed, the life of all men, even of the devoutest and most Christian, both is, and evermore hath been such, as one may always find some lack, even in the very best and purest conversation. And such is the inclination of all creatures unto evil, and the readiness of all men to suspect, that the things which neither have been done, nor once meant to be done, yet may be easily both heard and credited for true. And like as a small spot is soon espied in the neatest and whitest garment, even so the least stain of dishonesty is easily found out in the purest and sincerest life. Neither take we all them, which have at this day embraced the doctrine of the gospel, to be angels, and to live clearly without any mote or wrinkle; nor yet think we these men either so blind, that if any thing may be noted in us, they are not able to perceive the same even through the least crevice: nor so friendly, that they will construe ought to the best: nor yet so honest of nature nor courteous, that they will look back upon themselves, and weigh our fashions by their own. If so be we list to search this matter from the bottom, we know in the very apostles' times there were Christians, through whom the name of the Lord was blasphemed and evil spoken of among the Gentiles. Constantius the emperor bewaileth, [PART III.]

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[PART III.] as it is written in Sozomenus, that many waxed worse [99] after they had fallen to the religion of Christ. And Cyprian, in a lamentable oration, setteth out the corrupt manners in his time: "The wholesome discipline," saith he, "which the apostles left unto us, hath idleness and long rest now utterly marred, every one studied to increase his livelihood: and clean forgetting either what they had done before whilst they were under the apostles, or what they ought continually to do, having received the faith; they earnestly laboured to make great their own wealth with an unsatiable desire of covetousness. There is no devout religion," saith he, "in priests, no sound faith in ministers, no charity shewed in good works, no form of godliness in their conditions: men are become effeminate [1], and women's beauty is counterfeited." And before his days, said Tertullian, "O how wretched be we, which are called Christians at this time! for we live as heathens under the name of Christ [2]." And without reciting of many more writers, Gregory Nazianzene speaketh thus of the pitiful state of his own time: "We," saith he, "are in hatred among the heathen for our own vices' sake; we are also become now a wonder, not only to angels and men, but even to all the ungodly." In this case was the church of God when the gospel first began to shine, and when the fury of tyrants was not as yet cooled, nor the sword taken off from the Christians' necks. Surely it is no new thing that men be but men, although they be called by the name of Christians.

[*Sozomen.*]

Cyprian. de lapsis. [p. 183.]

[*Tertull.*]

[*Nazianz.*]

[PART IV.] But will these men, I pray you, think nothing at all of themselves, while they accuse us so maliciously? And while they have leisure to behold so far off, and see both what is done in Germany and in England, have they either forgotten, or can they not see what is done at Rome? or be they our accusers, whose life is [3] such, as no man is

[Ch. 1. div. 1. v. p. 315.]

[99] [Def. Apol. "worse and worse."]

[1] [Orig. "corrupta barba in viris."]

[2] [This sentence, though it corresponds to the Latin, is left out in the Def. of Apol.]

[3] [Def. Apol. "will they accuse us, their own life being such."]

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able to make mention thereof but with shame and uncomeliness? Our purpose here is, not to take in hand, at this present, to bring to light and open to the world those things, which were meet rather to be hid and buried with the workers of them. It beseemeth neither our religion, nor our modesty, nor our shamefastness. But yet he, which giveth commandment that he should be called the "Vicar of Christ," and the "Head of the Church;" who also heareth that such things be done in Rome, who seeth them, who suffereth them, (for we will go no further,) he can easily consider with himself what manner of things they be. Let him on God's name call to mind, let him remember, that they be of his own *canonists*[4], which have taught the people, that fornication between single folk is no sin[5]: (as though they had fette that doctrine from Mitio in Terence,) whose words be: "It is no sin (believe me) for a young man to haunt harlots." Let him remember they be of his own, which have decreed, that a priest ought not to be put out of his cure for fornication[6]. Let him remember also how cardinal Campegius[7], Albertus Pighius, and others many more of his own, have taught, that the priest which "keepeth a concubine" doth live more holily and chastely than he which hath a "wife in matrimony[8]." I trust he hath not yet forgotten, that there be

[PART IV.]

[Vol. v. p. 331.]

[Vol. v. p. 337.]

Johan. [*l.* Martinus] de Magistris, de temperantia.

[*Terent.*]

2 Qu. 7. Lator: in margine. Extrav. de Big.: Quia circa.

[4] [In the ed. of Def. Apol. of 1570, the words "and schooldoctors," were added, to meet the cavils of Harding in his Detection.]

[5] [The author had inadvertently cited *Johannes* instead of *Martinus* de Magistris, upon which Harding "makes himself a pleasant conquest." See vol. v. p. 329. Upon Harding's remarking that not even Martin had "denied fornication to be deadly sin," the bishop refers him to Alphonsus de Castro contra Hæres. lib. 4. Coitus [p. 300.], who says at least, that Martinus de Magistris, whilst he himself held fornication to be deadly sin, did not consider it heretical to hold the contrary.]

[6] [2 Qu. 7. Lator.: in marg.: supra, vol. iv. p. 616. In the original edition there had been a false print, Lata for Lator, which gave occasion to Harding to cavil. In the Def. of the Apol. Jewel adds many authorities for his statement about the non-deposition of clerks taken in fornication, Dist. 82. Presbyter: in Glossa, and Abb. Panorm. Extra de consanguin.: Non debet: tom. iii. pt. 2. fol. 37. col. 1.]

[7] [If the work of Campegius intended is that "de Cœlib. Sacerd. non abrogando," (Cap. 52.) what he says is, that continence is better than wedlock, even if the man who has vowed is unable to keep his vow.]

[8] [Harding alleges that all that Campegius and Alb. Pighius maintain is, that "fornication in this case is less ill than matrimony." (Supra vol. v. 336.) Upon which

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[PART IV.] many thousands of common harlots in Rome; and that himself doth gather yearly of the same harlots upon a [7] thirty thousand ducats, by the way of an annual pension. Neither can he forget, how himself doth maintain openly brothel houses, and by a most filthy lucre doth filthily and lewdly serve his own lust [8]. Were all things then pure and holy in Rome, when "Joan a *woman* [9]," rather of perfect age than of perfect life, was *pope* there, and bare herself as the "head of the church:" and after that for two whole years in that holy see she had played the naughty pack, at last going in procession about the city, in the sight of all the [10] cardinals and bishops, fell in travail openly in the streets?

[Vol. v. p. 342.]

The image of this woman pope, being in travail, is yet to be seen at Rome.

[Vol. v. p. 351.]

But what need we rehearse *concubines* and *bawds*? as for that is now an ordinary and a gainful sin at Rome. For harlots sit there now-a-days, not as they did in times past, without the city walls, and with their faces hid and covered; but they dwell in palaces and fair houses: they stray about in court and market, and that with bare and open face: as who say, they may not only lawfully do it, but ought also to be praised for so doing. What should we say any more of this? Their vicious and abominable life is now thoroughly known to the whole world. Bernard writeth roundly and truly of the bishop of Rome's house, yea, and of the *bishop of Rome* himself. "Thy palace," saith he, "taketh in good men, but it maketh none; naughty persons thrive there, and the good appayre and decay." And whosoever he were which wrote the *Tripartite work*, annexed to the *Council Lateranense*, saith thus: "So excessive at this day is the riot, as well in the prelates and bishops, as in the clerks and priests, that it is horrible to be told." But these things be not only grown in ure, and so by custom and continual time

[Ch. 2. div. 1. v. p. 363.]

Gen. xxxviii. 13.

Concil. Delect. Cardinal. Concil. tom. iii. [Crabb.]

Bernard. de Consider. [i. 445.]

Op. Tripart. [lib. 3. c. 7. Crabb. tom. ii. p. 1002.]

the author shews the futility of this distinction, and supports his own allegations by similar sentiments professed by other advocates of the celibacy of the clergy. It must be confessed, however, that bishop Jewel has expressed himself in rather stronger terms than his authorities warranted.]

[7] [Def. Apol. "above."]

[8] [See Harding's observations upon these accusations, and the author's answer, supra, vol. v. 341—349.]

[9] [The discussion between Harding and Jewel respecting pope Joan will be found vol. v. 349—363.]

[10] [Def. Apol. "her."]

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well allowed, as all the rest of their doings in manner be, [PART IV.] but they are now waxen old and rotten ripe. For who hath not heard, what a heinous act Peter Aloisius, pope Paul the Third's son, committed against Cosinus Cherius, [Sleidan. lib. xix.] the bishop of Fanum; what John [Def. Ap. *suppl.* Casa.], archbishop of Beneventum, the pope's legate at Venice, wrote in the commendation of a most abominable filthiness: and how he set forth, with most loathsome words and wicked eloquence, the matter which ought not once to proceed out of any body's mouth? To whose ears hath it not come, that N.[11] Diasius, a Spaniard, being purposely [Sleidan. lib. xvii. A. D. 1546.] sent from Rome into Germany, so shamefully and devilishly murdered his own brother John Diasius, a most innocent and a most godly man, only because he had embraced the gospel of Jesu Christ, and would not return again to Rome?

[Ch. 3. div. 1 et 2. v. p. 369.] But it may chance, to this they will say; These things may sometime happen in the best governed commonwealths, yea and against the magistrates' wills: and besides, there be good laws made to punish such. I grant, it be so: but by what good laws (I would know) have these great mischiefs been punished amongst them? Petrus Aloisius, after he had done that notorious act that I spake of, was always cherished in his father's bosom, pope Paul the Third, and made his very derling. Diasius, after he had murdered his own brother, was delivered by the pope's means, to the end he might not be punished by good laws. John Casus, the archbishop of Beneventum, is yet alive, yea, and liveth at Rome, even in the eyes and sight of the most holy father.

They have put to death infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they believed truly and sincerely in Jesus Christ. But of that great and foul number of harlots, fornicators, adulterers, what one have they at any time (I say not killed, but) either excommunicate, or once attached? Why: voluptuousness, adultery, ribaldry, whoredom, murdering of kin, incest, and others more

[11] [In the Def. Apol. this is corrected into "Alphonsus."]

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[PART IV.] abominable parts, are not these counted sin at Rome? Or, if they be sin, ought "Christ's vicar, Peter's successor, the most holy father," so lightly and slightly [12] to bear them, as though they were no sin, and that in the city of Rome, and in that principal tower of all *holiness?*

O holy scribes and Pharisees, which knew not this kind of *holiness!* what a *catholic faith* [13] is this! Peter did not thus teach at Rome: Paul did not so live at Rome: they did not practise brothelry, which these do openly: they made not a yearly revenue and profit of harlots: they suffered no common adulterers and wicked murderers to go unpunished. They did not receive them into their entire familiarity [14], into their council, into their household, nor yet into the company of Christian men. These men ought not therefore so unreasonably to triumph against our living. It had been more wisdom for them either first to have proved good their own life before the world, or at least to have cloaked it a little more cunningly. For we do use still the old and ancient laws, and (as much as men may do, in the manners used at these days, all things are so wholly corrupt,) we diligently and earnestly put in execution the ecclesiastical discipline: we have not common brothel-houses of strumpets, nor yet flocks of concubines, nor herds of harlot-hunters: neither do we prefer adultery before matrimony: neither do we exercise beastly sensuality: neither do we gather ordinary rents and stipends of stews: nor do we suffer to escape unpunished incest, and abominable naughtiness, nor yet such manquellers as the Aloisians, Casians, and Diazians were. For if these things would have pleased us, we needed not to have departed from these men's fellowship, amongst whom such enormities be in their chief pride and price. Neither needed we, for leaving them, to run into the hatred of men, and into most wilful dangers. Paul the Fourth, not many months sithence, had at Rome in prison certain Augustine

[Sleidan. contin. ann. 1559.]

[12] [Def. Apol. "sliely," Apol. Lat. "leniter."]

[13] [In the Def. Apol. the words are, "O what a holiness, what a catholic faith! &c." Apol. Lat. "O sanctitatem et catholicam fidem!"]

[14] [Apol. Lat. "in sinum."]

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friars, many bishops, and a great number of other devout men, for religion's sake. He racked them, and tormented them: to make them confess, he left no means unassayed. But in the end how many brothels, how many whoremongers, how many adulterers, how many incestuous persons could he find of all those? Our God be thanked, although we be not the men we ought and profess to be, yet, whosoever we be, compare us with these men, and even our own life and innocency will soon prove untrue and condemn their malicious surmises. For we exhort the people to all virtue and well doing, not only by books and preachings, but also with our examples and behaviour. We also teach that the gospel is not a boasting or bragging of knowledge, but that it is the law of life, and that a Christian man (as Tertullian saith) "ought not to speak honourably, but ought to live honourably; nor that they be the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law, which are justified before God."

[PART IV.]

[Ch. 3. div. 3. f. p. 371.]

Apologet. c. 45.

[Ch. 4. div. 1. f. p. 374.] Besides all these matters, wherewith they charge us, they are wont also to add this one thing, which they enlarge with all kind of spitefulness: that is, that we be men of trouble, that we pluck the "sword and sceptre out of kings' hands:" that we arm the people: that we overthrow judgment-places, destroy the laws, make havoc of possessions, seek to make the people princes, turn all things upside down: and to be short, that we would have nothing in good frame in a commonwealth. Good Lord, how often have they set on fire princes' hearts with these words, to the end they might quench the light of the gospel in the very first appearing of it, and might begin to hate the same, ere ever they were able to know it, and to the end that every magistrate might think he saw his deadly enemy as often as he saw any of us! surely it should exceedingly grieve us to be so maliciously accused of most heinous treason, unless we knew, that Christ himself, the apostles, and a number of good and Christian men, were in times past blamed and envied in manner for the same faults[15]. For although Christ taught "they should

[Tertull. Apol. cap. p. 29.]

[15] [Def. Apol. "reviled in like sort."]

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[PART IV.] give unto Cæsar that which was Cæsar's;" yet was he charged with sedition, in that he was accused to devise some conspiracy, and covet[16] the kingdom. And hereupon they cried out with open mouth against him in the place of judgment: "If thou let this man escape, thou art not Cæsar's friend."

And though the apostles did likewise evermore and steadfastly teach, that magistrates ought to be obeyed, "that every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but even for conscience sake," yet bare they the name to disquiet the people, and to stir up the multitude to rebel. After this
Esther iii. 8. sort did Haman specially bring the nation of the Jews into the hatred of the king Assuerus, because, said he, "they were a rebellious and stubborn people, and despised the ordinances and commandments of princes." Wicked king
1 Kings xviii. 17. Ahab said to Elie [Elijah] the prophet of God, "It is thou that troublest Israel." Amasias the priest at Bethel laid a conspiracy to the prophet Amos' charge before king
Amos vii. 10. Jeroboam, saying, "See, Amos hath made a conspiracy against thee in the midst of the house of Israel." To be
Tertull. in Apol. cap. 37. [p. 30 c.] brief, Tertullian saith, this was the general accusation of all Christians while he lived, that they were traitors, they were rebels, and the enemies of mankind. Wherefore, if now-a-days the truth be likewise evil spoken of, and being the same truth it was then, if it be now like despitefully used as it was in times past, though it be a grievous and unkind dealing, yet can it not seem unto us a new or an unwonted matter. Forty years ago, and upward, was it [Ch. 4. div. 2. v. p. 379.] an easy thing for them to devise against us these accursed speeches, and other too, sorer than these; when in the midst of the darkness of that age, first began to spring and to give shine some one glimmering beam of truth, unknown at that time and unheard of: when also Martin Luther and Hulderic Zuinglius, being most excellent men, even sent of God to give light to the whole world, first came unto the knowledge and preaching of the gospel: whereas yet the thing was but new, and the success thereof

[16] [Def. Apol. "seek ways to get."]

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uncertain: and when men's minds stood doubtful and amazed, and their ears open to all slanderous tales: and when there could be imagined against us no fact so detestable, but the people then would soon believe it, for the novelty and strangeness of the matter. For so did Symmachus, so did Celsus, so did Julianus, so did Porphyrius, the old foes to the gospel, attempt in times past to accuse all Christians of sedition and treason, before that either prince or people were able to know, who those Christians were, what they professed, what they believed, or what was their meaning. [PART IV.]

[Ch. 5. div. 1. v. 383.] But now, sithence our very enemies do see, and cannot deny, but we ever in all our words and writings have diligently put the people in mind of their duty, to obey their princes and magistrates, yea though they be wicked, (for this doth very trial and experience sufficiently teach, and all men's eyes, whosoever, and wheresoever they be, do well enough see and witness for us,) it was a foul part of them to charge us with these things; yea, seeing they could find no new and late faults, therefore to seek to procure us envy only with stale and outworn lies. We give our Lord God thanks whose only cause this is, there hath yet at no time been any such example in all the realms, dominions, and commonweals, which have received the gospel. For we have overthrown no kingdom, we have decayed no man's power or right, we have disordered no commonwealth. There continue in their own accustomed state and ancient dignity, the kings of our country of England, the kings of Denmark, the kings of Sweden, the dukes of Saxony, the counts palatine, the marquesses of Brandenburgh, the landgraves of Hesse, the commonwealth of the Helvetians and Rhætians, and the free cities, as Argentine, Basil, Frankfort, Ulm, Augusta, and Nuremberg; do all, I say, abide in the same authority and estate wherein they have been heretofore, or rather in a much better, for that by means of the gospel they have their people more obedient unto them. Let them go, I pray you, into those places where at this present through God's goodness the gospel is taught. Where is

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[PART IV.] there more majesty? Where is there less arrogancy and tyranny? Where be the prince more honoured? Where is the people less unruly? Where hath there at any time the commonwealth or the church been in more quiet? Perhaps ye will say, from the first beginning of this doctrine the common sort everywhere began to rage, and to rise throughout Germany. Allow it were so, yet Martin Luther, the publisher and setter forward of this doctrine, did write marvellous vehemently and sharply against them, and reclaimed them home to peace and obedience.

But whereas it is wont sometime to be objected by persons wanting skill touching the Helvetians' change of state, and killing of Leopoldus the duke of Austria, and restoring by force their country to liberty, that was done, as appeareth plainly by all stories for two hundred and three score years past or above, under Boniface the Eighth when the authority of the "bishop of Rome" was in greatest jollity, about two hundred years before Huldericus Zuinglius either began to teach the gospel, or yet was born: and ever since that time they have had all things still and quiet, not only from foreign enemies, but also from civil dissension. And if it were a sin in the Helvetians to deliver their own country from foreign government, specially when they were so proudly and tyrannously oppressed, yet to burden us with other men's faults, or them with the faults of their forefathers, is against all right and reason. [Ch. 5. div. 2. v. p. 387.]

But O immortal God! and will the bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? Will he teach the people to obey and follow their magistrates? or hath he any regard at all of the majesty of princes? Why doth he then, as none of the old bishops of Rome heretofore ever did, suffer himself to be called of his flatterers "lord of lords," as though he would have all kings and princes who and whatsoever they are to be his underlings? Why doth he vaunt himself to be "king of kings," and to have kingly royalty over his subjects? Why compelleth he all emperors and princes to swear to him fealty and true obedience? Why doth he boast that the "emperor's majesty is a thousand-fold [Ch. 6. div. 1. v. p. 388.]

August. Steuchus.

Anton. de Rosellis [Monarch. part. 1. c. 12. 18. pp. 259 et 263.]

De major. et obed.: So-

inferior to him:" and for this reason specially, because God hath made two lights in heaven, and because heaven and earth were created not at two beginnings, but in one? Why hath he and his complices (like Anabaptists and Libertines, to the end they might run on more licentiously and carelessly) shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from being under a civil power? Why hath he his *legates* (as much to say as most subtle spies) lying in wait in all kings' courts, councils, and privy chambers? Why doth he, when he list, set Christian princes one against another, and at his own pleasure trouble the whole world with debate and discord? Why doth he excommunicate, and command to be taken as a heathen and a pagan, any Christian prince that renounceth his authority? And why promiseth he his "indulgences and his pardons" largely to any that will (what way soever it be) kill any of his enemies? Doth he maintain empires and kingdoms? or doth he once desire that common quiet should be provided for? You must pardon us, good reader, though we seem to utter these things more bitterly and bitingly, than it becometh divines to do. For both the shamefulness of the matter, and the desire of rule in the bishop of Rome is so exceeding and outrageous, that it could not well be uttered with other words, or more mildly. For he is not ashamed to say in open assembly, "that all jurisdiction of all kings doth depend upon himself." And to feed his ambition and greediness of rule, he hath pulled in pieces the "empire of Rome," and vexed and rent whole Christendom asunder. Falsely and traitorously also did he release the Romans, the Italians, and himself too, of the oath whereby they and he were straitly bound to be true to the "emperor of Greece" and stirred up the emperor's subjects to forsake him: and calling Carolus Martellus out of France into Italy made him emperor, such a thing as never was seen before. He put Chilpericus the French king, being no evil prince, beside his realm, only because he fancied him not, and wrongfully placed Pipin in his room. Again, after he had cast out king Philip, if he could have brought it to pass, he had determined and appointed the kingdom

[PART IV.] Iltæ. De major. et obed.: Unam sanctam.

[Vol. v. p. 401.]

Clem. V. in Concil. Vien.

[Vol. v. p. 402.] Leo papa III.

[Vol. v. p. 404.] Zachar. papa.

[Vol. v. p. 409.] [Bonif. VIII.]

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[PART IV.] Clem. VII.

of France to Albertus king of Romans. He utterly destroyed the state of the most flourishing city and commonweal of Florence, his own native country, and brought it out of a free and peaceable state to be governed at the

Idem Clem.

pleasure of one man: he brought to pass by his procurement, that whole Savoy on the one side was miserably spoiled by the emperor Charles the Fifth, and on the other side by the French king, so as the unfortunate duke had scant one city left him to hide his head in. We are cloyed with examples in this behalf and it should be very tedious to reckon up all the notorious deeds of the bishops of Rome. Of which side were they, I beseech you, which *poisoned Henry* the emperor even in the receiving of the sacrament[17]? which *poisoned Victor the pope* even in the receiving of the chalice? which *poisoned our king John*, king of England, in a drinking-cup? Whosoever at least they were and of what sect soever, I am sure they were neither Lutherans nor Zuinglians. What is he at this day, which alloweth the mightiest kings and monarchs of the world to kiss his blessed feet? What is he that commandeth the emperor to go by him at his horse bridle, and the French king to hold his stirrup? Who hurled under his table Francis Dandalus the duke of Venice[18] king of Crete and Cyprus, fast bound with chains, to feed of bones among his dogs? Who set the imperial crown upon the emperor Henry the Sixth's head, not with his hand but with his foot; and with the same foot again cast the same crown off, saying withal "he had power to make emperors, and to unmake them again at my pleasure?" Who put in arms Henry the son against the emperor his father Henry the Fourth, and wrought so, that the father was taken prisoner of his own son, and being shorn and shamefully handled was thrust into a

[Ch. 6. div. 4. v. p. 411.]

[Paral. Urspergens. anno 1313.] [Aventinus p. 460.] [Carion p. 424.] [Textor in Officina, lib. ii. c. 97. p. 252.] [Cerem. lib. i. sect. 5. cap. 3.] [Ibid. cap. 6.] [Cerem. cap. 8. sect. 3. fol. 38.]

[Ch. 7. div. 2. v. p. 414.]

[Ch. 7. div. 3. v. p. 417.]

[Sabell. Ennead. 2. lib. i. p. 322.]

[Ch. 7. div. 4. v. p. 421.]

Celestinus papa. [Ranulp. in Polychron. fol. 292. col. 3.]

[Ch. 7. div. 5. v. p. 429.]

Celestinus papa.

Hildebrand. papa. [Gregor. Haimburgensis in appell. Sigism. p. 575.]

[Ch. 7. div. 6. v. p. 430.]

[17] [The person intended is Bernard, or Bernardinus, a Dominican monk. See however vol. i. supra, p. 159. note [1].]

[18] [Harding is very indignant at this statement, because he says Dandalus was not *yet* doge of Venice, but *only* ambassador from that state, and further, because the pope did not *hurl* him under the table (where, he adds, it is not likely there were dogs), but *suffered* him to *lie* there, like a dog in a chain.]

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monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death? Who[19] so ill-favouredly and monstrously put the emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, and, as though that were not sufficient, added further this text out of the Psalms, "Thou shalt go upon the adder and cockatrice, and shalt tread the lion and dragon under thy feet?" Such an example of scorning and contemning a prince's majesty, as never before that was heard tell of in any remembrance; except, I ween, either of Tamerlanes the king of Scythia, a wild and barbarous creature, or else of Sapor king of the Persians. All these notwithstanding were popes, all Peter's successors, all most holy fathers: whose several words we must take to be as good as several gospels. If we be counted traitors which do honour our princes, which give them all obedience, as much as is due to them by God's word, and which do pray for them: what kind of men then be these, which have not only done all the things before said, but also allow the same for specially well done? Do they then either this way instruct the people, as we do, to reverence their magistrate? Or can they with honesty appeach us as seditious persons, breakers of the common quiet, and despisers of princes' majesty?

[Ch. 8. div. 1. v. p. 434.] [Part IV.] [Carion in Vit. Alex. III.] Innocent. papa III. [Ch. 8. div. 2. v. p. 439.]

Truly we neither put off the yoke of obedience from us: neither do we disorder realms: neither do we set up or pull down kings: nor translate governments: nor give our kings poison to drink: nor yet hold to them our feet to be kissed, nor, opprobriously triumphing over them, leap into their necks with our feet. This rather is our profession: this is our doctrine: that every soul, of what calling soever it be, be he monk, be he preacher, be he prophet, be he apostle, ought to be subject to kings and magistrates: yea, and that the bishop of Rome himself, unless he will seem greater than evangelists, than the prophets, or the apostles, ought both to acknowledge and to call the emperor his lord and master, which the old

Chrysost. in 13. cap. ad Rom. [ix. 686.]

[19] [Harding says that whereas in "your lady's book," Innocentius III. is cited, in "your man's translation" it is Innocentius VIII. It should have been Alexander III. See Smedley's Sketches of Venetian History, vol. i. p. 75; and Rogers' Italy, p. 238: both quoted by Mr. Russell in his translation of the Apology, p. 93.]

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[PART IV.] bishops of Rome, who lived in times of more grace, ever did. Our common teaching also is that we ought so to obey princes, as men sent of God: and that whoso withstandeth them, withstandeth God's ordinance. This is our shewing, and this is well to be seen, both in our books and in our preachings, and also in the manners and modest behaviour of our people.

Gregorius saepe in epist. [ad Theodor. med. li. 678.]

But where they say, we have gone away from the unity of the catholic church, this is not only a matter of malice, but besides, though it be most untrue, yet hath it some show and appearance of truth. For the common people and ignorant multitude give not credit alone to things true and of certainty, but even to such things also, if any chance, which may seem to have but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see, that subtle and crafty persons, when they had no truth on their side, have ever contended and hotly argued with things likely to be true, to the intent they which were not able to espy the very ground of the matter, might be carried away at least with some pretence and probability thereof. In times past, where the first Christians, our forefathers, in making their prayers to God, did turn themselves towards the east[20], there were that said, "they worshipped the sun, and reckoned it as God." Again, where our forefathers said, that as touching immortal and everlasting life, they lived by no other means, but by the "flesh and blood of that Lamb who was without spot," that is to say of our Saviour Jesus Christ; the envious creatures, and foes of Christ's cross, whose only care was to bring Christian religion into slander by all manner of ways, made people believe, that they were wicked persons, that they "sacrificed men's flesh, and drunk men's blood." Also, where our forefathers said, that before God "there is neither man nor woman," nor, for attaining to the true righteousness, there is no distinction at all of persons: and that they did call one another indifferently by the name of sisters and brothers,

[Ch. 9. div. 1 and 2. v. p. 446.]

Tertull. in Apol. [c. 16. p. 16.]

Ibid. [c. 7. 8. p. 9.]

[20] [In the Def. Apol. the following words are added, but without being warranted by the Latin: "as for the most part the manner was."]

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there wanted not men, which forged false tales upon the same, saying that the Christians made no difference among themselves, either of age or of kind; but like brute beasts without regard had to do one with another. And where, for to pray and hear the gospel, they met often together in secret and bye places, because rebels sometime were wont to do the like, rumours were everywhere spread abroad, how they made privy confederacies, and counselled together either to kill the magistrates, or to subvert the commonwealth. And where, in celebrating the holy mysteries after Christ's institution, they took bread and wine, they were thought of many not to worship Christ but Bacchus and Ceres: forsomuch as those vain gods were worshipped of the heathens in like sort, after a profane superstition, with bread and wine. These things were believed of many, not because they were true indeed, (for what could be more untrue?), but because they were like to be true, and through a certain shadow of truth might the more easily deceive the simple. On this fashion likewise do these men slander us as heretics, and say that we have left the church and fellowship of Christ; not because they think it is true, for they do not much force of that, but because to ignorant folk it might perhaps some way appear true. We have indeed put ourselves apart, not as heretics are wont, from the church of Christ, but as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites.

[PART IV.] Tertull. Apolog. 9.

August. contr. Faust. 20. c. 13. [viii. 342.]

Nevertheless in this point they triumph marvellously, "that they be the church[21], that their church is Christ's spouse, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noah:" and that without it there is no hope of salvation. Contrariwise they say, "that we be renegades: that we have torn Christ's seat:" that we are plucked quite off from the body of Christ, and have forsaken the catholic faith. And when they leave nothing unspoken, that may never so falsely and maliciously be said against us, yet this one thing are they never able truly to say, that we have swerved either from the word of God, or from the apostles

[21] [Apol. Lat. "illam esse ecclesiam."]

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[PART IV.] of Christ, or from the primitive church. Surely we have ever judged the primitive church of Christ's time, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, to be the catholic church: neither make we doubt to name it "Noah's ark, Christ's spouse, the pillar and upholder of all truth:" nor yet to fix therein the whole mean of our salvation. It is doubtless an odious matter for one to leave the fellowship whereunto he hath been accustomed, and specially of those men, who though they be not, yet at least seem and be called Christians. And to say truly, we do not despise the church of these men, (howsoever it be ordered by them now-a-days,) partly for the name's sake itself, and partly for that the gospel of Jesus Christ hath once been therein truly and purely set forth. Neither had we departed therefrom, but of very necessity and much against our wills. But I put case, an idol be set up in the church of God, and the same desolation, which Christ prophesied to come, stood openly in the holy place. What if some thief or pirate invade and possess "Noah's ark?" These folks, as often as they tell us of the church, mean thereby themselves alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selves, boasting as they did in times past, which cried, Jerem. vii. 4. "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord:" or as the Pharisees and Scribes did, which craked they were John viii. 33. "Abraham's children." Thus with a gay and jolly show deceive they the simple, and seek to choke us with the very name of the church. Much like as if a thief, when he had gotten into another man's house, and by violence either hath thrust out or slain the owner, should afterward assign the same house to himself, casting forth of possession the right inheritor: or if Antichrist, when he had once entered into "the temple of God," should afterward say, This house is mine own, and Christ hath nothing to do withal. For these men now, after they have left nothing remaining in the church of God that hath any likeness of this church, yet will they seem the patrons and valiant maintainers of the church, very like as Gracchus amongst the Romans stood in defence of the treasury, notwithstanding with his prodigality and fond expenses he had utterly

[Ch. 9. div. 5. v. p. 455.]

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wasted the whole stock of the treasury. And yet was there never any thing so wicked, or so far out of reason, but lightly it might be covered, and defended by the name of the church. For the wasps also make honey-combs as well as bees [22]: and wicked men have companies like to the church of God: yet for all that "they be not straightway the people of God, which are called the people of God: neither be they all Israelites, as many as are come of Israel the father." The Arians, notwithstanding they were heretics, yet bragged they that they alone were catholics, calling all the rest, now Ambrosians, now Athanasians, now Johannites. And Nestorius, as saith Theodoret, for all that he was an heretic, yet covered he himself τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι: that is to wit, with a certain cloak and colour of the true and right faith. Ebion, though he agreed in opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as saith Epiphanius, he would needs be called a Christian. The Mahometists at this day, for all that all histories make plain mention, and themselves also cannot deny, but they took their first beginning of "Agar the bond-woman," yet for the very name and stock's sake, choose they rather to be called Saracens, as though they came of "Sarah the free woman, and Abraham's wife." So likewise the false prophets of all ages, which stood up against the prophets of God, which resisted Esaias, Jeremy, Christ and the apostles, at no time craked of any thing so much as they did of the name of the church. And for no other cause did they so fiercely vex them, and call them runaways [23] and apostates, than for that they forsook their fellowship, and kept not the ordinances of the elders. Wherefore, if we would follow the judgments of those men only who then governed the church, and would respect nothing else, neither God, nor his word, it must needs be confessed, that the apostles were rightly and by just law condemned of them to death, because they fell from the bishops and priests, that is, you must think,

[PART IV.]

Aug. in Serm. contr. Arian. [viii. 646.] Aug. in epist. 48. ad Vinc. [ii. 240.]

Epiph. lib. 1. Hær. 30. [i. 125.]

Sozom. lib. 6. c. 38. [ii. 276.]

[22] [Def. Apol. adds "although there be no honey in them:" for which there is no equivalent in the Latin.]

[23] [Def. Apol. "renegates."]

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[PART IV.] from the "catholic church:" and because they made many new alterations in religion contrary to the bishops' and priests' wills, yea and for all their spurning so earnestly against it. Wherefore, like as it is written that Hercules in old time was forced in striving with Antæus, that huge giant, to lift him quite up from the earth that was his mother, ere he could conquer him, even so must our adversaries be heaved from their mother, that is, from this vain colour and shadow of the church, wherewith they so disguise and defend themselves: otherwise they cannot be brought to yield unto the word of God. And therefore saith Jeremy the prophet, Make not such great boast that the temple of the Lord is with you. This is but a vain confidence: these are lies. The angel also saith in the Apocalypse; They say they be Jews; but they be the synagogue of Satan. And Christ said to the Pharisees when they vaunted themselves of the kindred and blood of Abraham; "Ye are of your father the devil:" for you resemble not your father Abraham: as much to say as, ye are not the men ye would so fain be called: ye beguile the people with vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the overthrowing of the church.

[Ch. 9. div. 4. v. p. 460.]

Jerem. vii. 4.

Rev. ii. 9.

John viii. 44.

So that these men's part had been, first to have clearly and truly proved, that the Romish church is the true and right instructed church of God: and that the same as they do order it at this day doth agree with the primitive church of Christ, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, which we doubt not but was indeed the true catholic church. For our parts, if we could have judged ignorance, error, superstition, idolatry, men's inventions, and the same commonly disagreeing with the holy Scriptures, either to please God, or to be sufficient for the obtaining everlasting salvation: or if we could ascertain ourselves, that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward again ought to be abrogated and put away: or else that the sayings and commandments of God ought to be subject to man's will, that whatsoever God saith and commandeth, except the bishop of Rome willeth and commandeth the same, it must be taken as void and

[Ch. 10. div. 1. v. p. 461.]

[Ch. 10. div. 2. v. p. 465.]

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unspoken: if we could have brought ourselves to believe these things, we grant there had been no cause at all why we should have left these men's company. As touching that we have now done to depart from that church, whose errors were proved and made manifest to the world, which church also had already evidently departed from God's word: and yet not to depart so much from itself, as from the errors thereof; and not to do this disorderly or wickedly, but quietly and soberly, we have done nothing herein against the doctrine either of Christ, or of his apostles. For neither is the church of God such as it may not be dusked with some spot, or asketh not sometime reparation. Else what needeth there so many assemblies and councils, without the which, as saith Ægidius, the Christian faith is not able to stand? "For look, (saith he) how often councils are discontinued, so often is the church destitute of Christ." Or if there be no peril that harm may come to the church, what need is there to retain to no purpose the names of bishops, as is now commonly used among them[24]? For if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called shepherds? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be they called watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called pillars? Anon after the first creation of the world, the church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word which God himself pronounced with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets, and continued so even till the time that Christ shewed himself to us in the flesh. Thus notwithstanding how often, O good God, in the mean while, and how horribly was the same church darkened and decayed! Where was that church then, when "all flesh upon earth had defiled their own way?" Gen. vi. 12. Where was it, when amongst the number of the whole world there were only eight persons (and they neither all chaste and good) whom God's will was should be

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[Ch. 11. div. 1. v. p. 468.]

In concil. Lat. sub Julio II. [Harduin. ix. 1577. b.]

[Ch. 12. div. 1 and 2. v. p. 471.]

[24] [There is nothing in the Lat. to correspond to the sentence, added in the Def. Apol.: "The names only they bear, and do nothing."]

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[PART IV.] saved alive from that universal destruction and mortality? when Elie the prophet so lamentably and bitterly made
1 Kings xix. 10. moan, that "only himself was left" of all the whole world which did truly and duly worship God? and when Esay
Is. i. 22. 21. 6. said, "the silver of God's people (that is of the church) was become dross: and that the same city, which aforetime had been faithful, was now become a harlot: and that in the same there was no part sound throughout the whole body, from the head to the foot?" or else, when
Matt. xxi. 13. Christ himself said, "that the house of God was made by the Pharisees and priests a den of thieves?" Of a truth, the church, even as a corn-field, except it be eared[24], manured, tilled, and trimmed, instead of wheat it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send ever among[25] both prophets, and apostles, and last of all his "own Son," who might bring home the people into the right way, and repair anew the tottering church after she had erred.

But lest some man should say, that the foresaid things happened in the time of the law only, of shadows, and of infancy, when truth lay hid under figures and ceremonies, when nothing as yet was brought to perfection, when the law was not graven in men's hearts, but in stone: and yet is that but a foolish saying, for even at those days was there the very same God that is now, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same faith, the same doctrine, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same league, and
[Euseb. lib. 1. c. 4.] the same efficacy and virtue of God's word: Eusebius also saith: "All the faithful, even from Adam until Christ, were in very deed Christians," (though they were not so termed:) but, as I said, lest men should thus speak still, Paul the apostle found the like faults and falls even then in the prime and chief of the gospel in chief perfection, and in the light; so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galatians, whom he had well before that
Gal. iv. 11. instructed: "I fear me" (quoth[26] he) "lest I have la-

[Ch. 13. div. 1. v. p. 476.]

[24] [Eared = ploughed.]

[25] [The adverbial use of this word is very rare.]

[26] [Al. "quod," the old preterperf.]

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boured among you in vain, and lest ye have heard the gospel in vain." "O my little children, of whom I travail anew, till Christ be fashioned again in you." And as for the church of the Corinthians, how foully it was defiled, is nothing needful to rehearse. Now tell me, might the churches of the Galatians and Corinthians go amiss, and the church of Rome alone may not fail, nor go amiss? Surely Christ prophesied long before of his church, that the time should come when desolation should stand in the holy place. And Paul saith, that Antichrist should once set up his own tabernacle and stately seat in the temple of God: and that the time should be, "when men should not away with wholesome doctrine, but be turned back unto fables and lies," and that within the very church. Peter likewise telleth, how there should be teachers of lies in the church of Christ. Daniel the prophet, speaking of the latter times of Antichrist, "Truth," saith he, "in that season shall be thrown under foot, and trodden upon in the world." And Christ saith, how the calamity and confusion of things shall be so exceeding great, "that even the chosen, if it were possible, shall be brought into error:" and how all these things shall come to pass, not amongst Gentiles and Turks, but that they should be in the holy place, in the temple of God, in the church, and in the company and fellowship of those which profess the name of Christ.

[PART IV.] Ib. ver. 19.

[Ch. 13. div. 2. v. p. 480.]

Matt. xxiv. 15. 2 Thess. ii. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 3. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Dan. viii. 12. Matt. xxiv. 24.

[Ch. 14. div. 1. and 2 v. p. 485.]

Albeit these same warnings alone may suffice a wise man to take heed he do not suffer himself rashly to be deceived with the name of the church, and not to stay to make further inquisition thereof by God's word; yet beside all this, many fathers also, many learned and godly men, have often and carefully complained, how all these things have chanced in their lifetime. For even in the midst of that thick mist of darkness, God would yet there should be some, who, though they gave not a clear and bright light, yet should they kindle, were it but some spark, which men might espy, being in the darkness.

Hilarius, when things as yet were almost uncorrupt and

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[PART IV.] in good case too: "Ye are ill deceived" (saith he) "with the love of walls: ye do ill worship the church, in that ye worship it in houses and buildings: ye do ill bring in the name of peace under roofs. Is there any doubt, but Antichrist will have his seat under the same? I rather reckon hills, woods, pools, marshes, prisons, and quagmires, to be places of more safety: for in these the prophets, either abiding of their accord, or forced thither by violence, did prophesy by the Spirit of God."

Contr. Auxent. [p. 1269.]

Gregory, as one which perceived and foresaw in his mind the wrack of all things, wrote thus to "John[27] bishop of Constantinople," the first of all others that commanded himself to be called by this new name, the "universal bishop of whole Christ's church:" "If the church," saith he, "shall depend upon one man, it will at once fall down to the ground." Who is he, that seeth not how this is come to pass long since? For long agone hath the bishop of Rome willed to have the "whole church depend upon" himself alone. Wherefore it is no marvel, though it be clean fallen down long agone.

Gregor. lib. 4. ad Maurit. ep. 32. [Vid. tom. ii. 749 et 873.]

Bernard the abbot, above four hundred years past, writeth thus: "Nothing is now of sincerity and pureness amongst the clergy: wherefore it resteth, that the man of sin should be revealed." The same Bernard, in his work of the conversion of Paul: "It seemeth now," saith he, "that persecution hath ceased: no, no, persecution seemeth but now to begin, even from them which have chief preeminence in the church. Thy friends and neighbours have drawn near, and stood up against thee: from the sole of thy foot to the crown of thy head, there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the elders, the judges and deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. We cannot say now, Look how the people be, so is the priest. For the people is not so ill as the priest is. Alas, alas, O Lord God, the self-same persons be the chief in persecuting thee, which

[Ch. 14. div. 3. v. p. 493.]

[Bern. in Serm. Qui habitat. tom. i. 845.]

[De Convers. Paul. tom. i. 962.]

[27] [Lat. Apol. "*ad* Joannem;" changed in the Def. of Apol. into "wrote *of* John" (to Maurice), in consequence of Harding's strictures upon the mistake.]

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seem to love the highest place, and bear most rule in thy church!" The same Bernard again, upon the Canticles, writeth thus: "All they are thy friends; yet are they all thy foes: all thy kinsfolk; yet are they all thy adversaries. Being Christ's servants, they serve Antichrist. Behold, in my rest, my bitterness is most bitter." [PART IV.] [Bern. in Cantic. ser. 33. tom. i. 1397.]

[Ch. 15. div. 1. v. p. 494.] Roger Bacon[28] also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement oration touched to the quick the woful state of his own time: "These so many errors," saith he, "require and look for Antichrist." Gerson complaineth, that in his days all the substance and efficacy of sacred divinity was brought unto a glorious contention, and ostentation of wits, and to very sophistry." The friars of Lyons[29], men, as touching the manner of their life, not to be misliked, were wont boldly to affirm, that the Romish church (from whence alone all counsel and order was then sought) was the very same "harlot of Babylon and rout of devils," whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalypse. *In libello de idiomate linguarum.*

[Ch. 15. div. 3. v. p. 496.] I know well enough the authority of these foresaid persons is but lightly regarded among these men. How then if I call forth those for witness, whom they themselves have used to honour? What if I say, that *Adrian*[30] *the bishop of Rome* did frankly confess that all these mischiefs brast[31] out first from the high *throne of the pope?* Pighius acknowledgeth herein to be a fault, that many abuses are brought in, even into the very mass, which mass otherwise he would have seem to be a reverend matter. Gerson saith, that through the number of most fond ceremonies, all the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which ought to have operation in us, and all true godliness, is utterly quenched and dead. Whole Greece and Asia complain, how the bishops of Rome, with the marts of their purgatories and pardons, have both tormented men's consciences, and picked their purses.

[Ch. 15. div. 3. v. p. 498.] [Pigh. de privata Missa Controv. Ratisp. sub fin.]

Paul. Æmil. [fol. ccxxvii.]

[28] [The Editor has not as yet found this treatise.]

[29] [Def. Apol. "The poor men called pauperes a Lugduno."]

[30] [Adrian VI. Vid. Johann. Sleidan. lib. 4. ann. 1523.]

[31] ["Brast," obsolete for "burst."]

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[PART IV.] As touching the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and their barbarous Persian-like pride, to leave out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies, because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices, the same men, which have led their life at Rome in the holy city, in the face of the most holy father, who also were able to see all their secrets, and at no time departed from the catholic faith: as for example, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hierom Savanorola, abbot Joachim, Baptist of Mantua, and before all these, Bernard the abbot, have many a time and much complained of it, giving the world also sometime to understand, that the bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very Antichrist. Whether they spake it truly, or falsely, let that go. Sure I am they spake it plainly. Neither can any man allege that those authors were Luther's or Zuinglius' scholars: for they were not only certain years, but also certain ages ere ever Luther's or Zuinglius' names were heard of. They well saw that even in their days errors had crept into the church, and wished earnestly they might be amended [32]. [Ch. 16. div. 1. v. p. 501.]

And what marvel if the church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the roost, nor almost any other, either did his duty, or once understood what was his duty. For it is hard to be believed, while they were idle and fast asleep, that the devil also all that while either fell asleep, or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the mean time, and with what faithfulness they took care of God's house, though we hold our peace, yet I pray you, let them hear Bernard their own friend. "The bishops," saith he, "who now have the charge of God's church, are not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they are not prelates, but Pilates." These words spake Bernard of that bishop who named himself the highest bishop of all, and of the other bishops likewise which then had the place of govern- [Ch. 17. div. 1. v. p. 509.]

[Bernard in Concil. Rem. Mansi xxi. 472.]

[32] [This sentence is omitted in the Def. Apol.]

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ment. Bernard was no Lutheran: Bernard was no heretic. He had not forsaken the catholic church: yet nevertheless he did not let to call the bishops that then were, *deceivers*, *beguilers*, and *Pilates*. Now when the people was openly deceived, and Christian men's eyes were craftily bleared, and when Pilate sat in judgment-place, and condemned Christ and Christ's members to sword and fire; O good Lord, in what case was Christ's church then? But yet tell me, of so many and so gross errors, what one have these men at any time reformed? or what fault have they once acknowledged and confessed? [PART IV.]

[Ch. 18. div. 1. v. p. 514.]

But, forsomuch as these men avouch the universal possession of the catholic church to be their own, and call us heretics, because we agree not in judgment with them, let us know, I beseech you, what proper mark and badge hath that church of theirs, whereby it may be known to be the church of God. I wiss it is not so hard a matter to find out God's church, if a man will seek it earnestly and diligently. For the church of God is set upon a high and glittering place, in the top of a hill, and built upon the "foundation of the apostles and prophets:" "There," saith Augustine, "let us seek the church: there let us try our matters." "And," as he saith again in another place, "the church must be shewed out of the holy and canonical scriptures: and that which cannot be shewed out of them is not the church[33]." Yet for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for fear, or for conscience, or despair of victory, these men alway abhor and fly the word of God, even as the thief flieth the gallows. And no wonder truly. For, like as men say, the cantharus bye and bye perisheth and dieth as soon as it is laid in balm; notwithstanding balm be otherwise a most sweet-smelling ointment: even so these men well see their own matter is damned and destroyed in the word of God, as if it were in poison. Therefore the holy scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only use for authority in all

August. de Unit. Eccl. Cath. cap. 3. [ix. 341.]

Cap. 4.

[33] [The exact words are not found in the 4th chap. of St. Aug. de Unit. Eccl.: which is the reference in the original Lat. edit.]

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[PART IV.] his speech, but did also at last seal up the same with his own blood, these men, to the intent they might with less business drive the people from the same, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, have used to call them a bare letter, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, and dead: which seemeth to us all one as if they should say, "The scriptures are to no purpose, or as good as none." Hereunto they add a similitude not very agreeable, how the scriptures be like to a nose of wax, or a shipman's hose[34]: how they may be fashioned and plied all manner of ways, and serve all men's turns. Woteth not the bishop of Rome, that these things are spoken by his own minions? or understandeth he not he hath such champions to fight for him? Let him hearken then how holily and how godly one Hosius writeth of this matter, a bishop in Polonia, as he testifieth of himself; a man doubtless well spoken and not unlearned, and a very sharp and stout maintainer of that side. One will marvel[35], I suppose, how a good man could either conceive so wickedly, or write so despitefully of those words which he knew proceeded from God's mouth, and specially in such sort as he would not have it seem his own private opinion alone, but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth, I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so, as though it were not he and his side, but the Zuenckfeldian heretics that so did speak[36]. "We," saith he, "will bid away with the same scriptures, whereof we see brought not only divers but also contrary interpretations; and we will hear God speak, rather than we will resort to the naked elements[37], and appoint our salvation to rest in them. It behoveth not a man to be expert in the law and scripture, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour that a man bestoweth in the scriptures. For

Pigh. in Controv. de Eccl. [contr. 3.] [et in Hierarch. lib. 3. c. 3. ed. 1538. fol. lxxx.]

[Ch. 19. et 20. div. 1. v. p. 522.]

Hosius de expr. Verb. Dei. [ed. 1562, fol. 242. F.]

[34] [There are no words in the Latin corresponding to "or a shipman's hose."]

[35] [So also in the version of 1562, Apol. Lat. "mirabitur;" in Def. Apol. incorrectly rendered "Thou wilt marvel."]

[36] [The Lat. Apol. has not this sentence, which was added first when the English translations appeared.]

[37] [Def. Apol. adds, "or bare words of the scriptures."]

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the scripture is a creature, and a certain bare letter." This is Hosius' saying, uttered altogether with the same spirit and the same mind wherewith in times past Montane and Marcion were moved, who, as men report, used to say, when with a contempt they rejected the holy scriptures, that themselves knew many more and better things, than either Christ or the apostles ever knew. [PART IV.]

What then shall I say here, O ye principal posts[38] of religion, O ye arch-governors of Christ's church! Is this that your reverence which ye give to God's word? The holy scriptures, which, St. Paul saith, came by the inspiration of God, which God did commend by so many miracles, wherein are the most perfect prints of Christ's own steps, which all the holy fathers, apostles, and angels, which Christ himself the Son of God, as often as was needful, did allege for testimony and proof: will ye, as though they were unworthy for you to hear, bid them avaunt away? That is, will ye enjoin God to keep silence, who speaketh to you most clearly by his own mouth in the scriptures? or that word, whereby alone, as Paul saith, we are reconciled to God, and which the prophet David saith is "holy and pure, and shall last for ever;" will ye call that but a "bare and dead letter?" or will ye say, that all our labour is lost, which is bestowed in that thing which Christ hath commanded us diligently to search, and to have evermore before our eyes? And will ye say, that Christ and the apostles meant with subtilty to deceive the people, when they exhorted them to read the holy scriptures, that thereby they might flow in all wisdom and knowledge? No marvel at all though these men despise us and all our doings, which set so little by God himself and his infallible sayings. Yet was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt us, to do so extreme injury to the word of God.

But Hosius will here make exclamation, saying, we do him wrong, and that these be not his own words, but the words of the heretic Zuenkfeldius. But how then, if Zuenckfeldius make exclamation on the other side, and

[38] [Apol. Lat. "columina," *al.* "culmina," *al.* "columnæ."]

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[PART IV.] say, that the same very words be not his, but Hosius' own words? For tell me where hath Zuenckfeldius ever written them? or, if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter goeth, although Hosius peradventure will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For well-near in all controversies, and namely touching the use of the holy "communion under both kinds," although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them, as no better than "cold and dead elements:" and commandeth us to give faith to certain new lessons, appointed by the church, and to I wot not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighius saith: "Men ought not to believe, no not the most clear and manifest words of the scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the church [38]."

[Hierarch. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 2.]

And yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the holy scriptures, as in times past wicked king Aza did, or as Antiochus or Maximinus did, and are wont to name them *heretics' books*. And out of doubt, to see too [39], they would fain do as Herod in old time did in Jewry, that he might with more surety keep still his dominion: who being an Idumæan born, and a stranger to the stock and kindred of the Jews, and yet coveting much to be taken for a Jew, to the end he might establish to him and his posterity the kingdom of that country, which he had gotten of Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all the genealogies and pedigrees to be burnt, and made out of the way, so that there should remain no record whereby he might be known to them that came after, that he was an alien in blood: whereas even from Abraham's time these monuments had been safely kept amongst the Jews, and laid up

[Ch. 21. div. 1. v. p. 537.]

Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 7, 8. [l. 24.]

[38] [Def. Apol. these words are added: "whereby he meaneth the church of Rome." The whole of the preceding paragraph was added in the translation; it has never been inserted in the Latin edition. See the Editor's note, supra vol. v. p. 325.]

[39] [Def. Apol. "as it seemeth."]

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in their treasury: because in them it might easily and most assuredly be found, of what lineage every one did descend. So (in good faith) do these men, when they would have all their own doings in estimation, as though they had been delivered to us even from the apostles, or from Christ himself: to the end there might be found nowhere any thing able to convince such their dreams and lies, either they burn the holy scriptures, or else they craftily convey them from the people. surely. [PART IV.]

[Ch. 21. div. 2. et 3. v. p. 547.] Very rightly and aptly doth Chrysostom write against these men. "Heretics," saith he, "shut up the doors against the truth: for they know full well, if the door were open, the church should be none of their's." Theophylact also: "God's word," saith he, "is the candle, whereby the thief is espied[40]." And Tertullian saith: "The holy scripture manifestly findeth out the fraud and theft of heretics[41]." For why do they hide, why do they keep under the gospel, which Christ would have preached aloud from the housetop? Why whelm they that light under a bushel, which ought to stand on a candlestick? Why trust they more to the blindness of the unskilful multitude, and to ignorance, than to the goodness of their cause? Think they their sleights are not already perceived, and that they can walk now unespied, as though they had Gyges' ring to go invisibly by upon their finger? No, no. All men see now well and well again, what good stuff is in that chest of the "bishop of Rome's bosom." This thing alone of itself may be an argument sufficient, that they work not uprightly and truly. Worthily ought that matter seem suspicious, which flieth trial, and is afraid of the light. "For he that doth evil," as Christ saith, "seeketh darkness, and hateth the light." A conscience that knoweth itself clear, cometh willingly into open show, that the works which proceed of God may be seen. Neither be they so very blind but they see this well enough, that their own kingdom straightway is at a point, if the scriptures once have the upper hand: and that, like as men

[Ch. 21. div. 4. v. p. 548.]

[Chrysost. in Opere imp. tom. vi. app. p. 186.]

[Theophyl. in Luc. xvi. 31.]

[Tertul. [*leg.* Novatian.] de Trinit. ad calc. Tertull. p. 718.]

[Ch. 21. div. 5. v. p. 549.]

[Ch. 21. div. 6. v. p. 549.]

[Ch. 21. div. 7. ibid.]

[In 6to de Constit. Licet Roman.]

[Ch. 21. div. 8. v. p. 551.]

John iii. 20.

[40] [Supra, vol. iii. 284, note 5.] [41] [Supra, vol. i. 135, and iii. 308.]

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[PART IV.] say, the idols of devils in times past, of whom men in doubtful matters were then wont to receive answers, were suddenly stricken dumb at the sight of Christ, when he was born and came into the world: even so they see that now all their subtle practices will soon fall down headlong upon the sight of the gospel. For Antichrist is not overthrown but by the brightness of Christ's coming.

As for us, we run not for succour to the fire, as these men's guise is, but we run to the scriptures; neither do we reason [41] with the sword, but with the word of God: and therewith, as saith Tertullian, "do we feed our faith: by it do we stir up our hope, and strengthen our confidence." For we know that the "gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation;" and that therein consisteth eternal life. And as Paul warneth us, "We do not hear, no not an angel of God coming from heaven, if he go about to pull us from any part of this doctrine." Yea, more than this, as the holy martyr Justin speaketh of himself, we would give no credence to God himself, if he should teach us any other gospel [42].

[Ch. 22. div. 1. v. p. 552.]

[Tertull. in Apol. cap. 39. p. 31.]

Rom. i. 16.

[Ch. 22. div. 2. v. p. 554.]

Gal. i. 18.

For where these men bid the holy scriptures away, as dumb and fruitless, and procure us to come to God himself rather, who speaketh in the church and in councils, which is to say, to believe their fancies and opinions; this way of finding out the truth is very uncertain, and exceeding dangerous, and in manner a fantastical [43] and mad way, and by no means allowed of the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith: "There be many oftentimes which boast themselves of the Holy Ghost: but truly whoso speak of their own head, do falsely boast they have the Spirit of God. For like as (saith he) Christ denied he spake of himself, when he spake out of the law and prophets, even so now, if any thing be pressed upon us in the name of the Holy Ghost,

[Ch. 22. div. 3. v. p. 556.]

[Ch. 22. div. 4. v. p. 559.]

[Chrysost. de Sancto et Ador. Spiritu, iii. 807, 808.]

[41] [Apol. Lat. "obsidemus."]

[42] [These words, which occur in lady Bacon's translation, in accordance with the Latin Apology, were omitted in the English translation adopted in the *second* edit. of the Defence (1570). "Immo "ut vir sanctissimus Justinus Mar- "tyr de se loquitur, Ne Deo qui- "dem ipsi fidem haberemus, si "aliud nos doceret evangelium." No reference to Saint Justin is given.]

[43] [Apol. Lat. "fanatica."]

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save the gospel, we ought not to believe it. For as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the gospel[44]." Thus far goeth Chrysostom. [PART IV.]

[Ch. 1. div. 1. vol. vi. p. 1.] But here I look they will say, though they have not the scriptures, yet may chance they have the ancient doctors and the holy fathers with them. For this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity and a continual consent of all ages doth make on their side: and that all our cases be but new, and yesterday's work; and until these few late years were never heard of. Questionless, there can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God than to accuse it of novelty, as a new come up matter. For as there can be no change in God himself, so ought there to be no change in his religion. [PART V.]

Yet nevertheless, we wot not by what means, but we have ever seen it come so to pass from the first beginning of all, that as often as God did give but some light, and did open his truth unto men, though the truth were not only of greatest antiquity but also from everlasting, yet of wicked men and of the adversaries was it called *new-fangled* and of late devised. That ungracious and blood-thirsty Haman, when he sought to procure the king Assuerus' displeasure against the Jews, this was his accusation to him: "Thou hast here (saith he) a kind of people that useth certain new laws of their own, but stiffnecked and rebellious against all thy laws." When Paul also began first to preach and expound the gospel at Athens, he was called a tidings-bringer of new gods, as much to say as of a new religion: for (said the Athenians) may we not know of thee, what new doctrine this is? Celsus likewise, when he of set purpose wrote against Christ, to the end he might more scornfully scoff out the gospel by the name of novelty: "What? (saith he) hath God after so many ages

Esther iii. 8.

Acts xvii. 8.

Origen contr. Cels.

[44] [Saville, as well as the Ben., considers this treatise not to be St. Chrysostom's, but he would assign it to some writer of perhaps equal antiquity.]

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[PART V.] now at last and so late bethought himself?" Eusebius also writeth, that Christian religion from the beginning for very spite was called *νέα καὶ ξένη*, that is to say, new and strange. After like sort these men condemn all our matters as strange and new: but they will have their own, whatsoever they are, to be praised as things of long continuance. Doing much like to the enchanters and sorcerers now-a-days, which working with devils use to say they have their books and all their holy and hid mysteries from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, Adam, and from the archangel Raphael, because that their cunning, coming from such patrons and founders, might be judged the more high and holy. After the same fashion these men, because they would have their own religion, which they themselves, and that not long since, have brought forth into the world, to be the more easily and rather accepted of foolish persons, or of such as cast little whereabouts they or other do go, they are wont to say they had it from Augustine, Hierom, Chrysostom [45], from the apostles, and from Christ himself. Full well know they, that nothing is more in the people's favour, or better liketh the common sort than these names. But how if the things, which these men are so desirous to have seem new, be found of greatest antiquity? Contrariwise, how if all the things wellnigh which they so greatly set out with the name of antiquity, having been well and thoroughly examined, be at length found to be but new, and devised of very late? Soothly to say, no man that hath a true and right consideration would think the Jews' laws and ceremonies to be new, for all Haman's accusation. For they were graven in very ancient tables of most antiquity. And although many did take Christ to have swerved from Abraham and the old fathers, and to have brought in a certain new religion in his own name, yet answered he them directly [46], "if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also," for my doctrine is not so new as you make it: for Moses, an author of greatest antiquity, and one to whom ye give all honour, "hath spoken of me."

Euseb. lib. 1. c. 4. [l. 14.]

[Ch. 1. div. 2. vi. p. 12.]

[Ch. 1. div. 3. vi. p. 17.]

John v. 46.

[45] [The Lat. Apol. adds "Ambrosius."]
[46] [Apol. Lat. "vere."]

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Paul[47] likewise, though the gospel of Jesus Christ be of many counted to be but new, yet hath it (saith he) the testimony most old both of the law and prophets. As for our doctrine which we may rightly call Christ's catholic doctrine, it is so far off from new, that God, who is above all most ancient[48], and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath left the same unto us in the gospel, in the prophets' and apostles' works, being monuments of greatest age. So that no man can now think our doctrine to be new, unless the same think either the prophets' faith, or the gospel, or else Christ himself to be new. [PART V.] Rom. iii. 21.

[Ch. 2. div. 1. and 2. vi. p. 18.] And as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the primitive church, and by the fathers and councils of old times? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust destitute of an advocate? Fire and sword they have had always ready at hand, but as for the old councils and the fathers, all mum, not a word. They did surely against all reason to begin first with these so bloody and extreme means, if they could have found other more easy and gentle ways. And if they trust so fully to antiquity, and use no dissimulation, why did John Clement[49], a countryman of ours, but few years past, in the presence of certain honest men and of good credit, tear and cast into the fire certain leaves of Theodoret the most ancient father and a Greek bishop, wherein he plainly and evidently taught, that the nature of bread in the communion was not changed, abolished, or brought to nothing? And this did he of purpose, because he thought there was no other copy thereof to be found. Why saith Albertus Pighius, that the ancient father Augustine had a wrong opinion of original sin? and that he erred and lied and

[Ch. 2. div. 3. vi. p. 19.] Pighius in 1 controv. de peccato originis. Dist. 27. Quidam.

[47] [Def. Apol. "St. Paul," an addition usual in the Defence.]

[48] [Apol. Lat. "antiquus dierum."]

[49] [John Clement of C.C.C. a learned physician, Greek reader at Oxford, died in exile A.D. 1572. See Wood's Athenæ. In the Def. the author gives as his authority Peter Martyr, who had the report from "a learned man and a grave father, and not long sithence a bishop in England, who said he was present and saw the thing done with his eyes." See vol. i. supra, p. 85.]

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[PART V.] used false logic, as touching the case of matrimony con-
August. de bono viduitatis cap. 10. [vi. 375.] cluded after a vow made, which Augustine affirmeth to be perfect matrimony indeed, and cannot be undone again [50]? Also when they did of late put in print the ancient father [Ch. 2. div. 4. vi. p. 23.] Origen's work upon the Gospel of John, why left they quite
Liber hodie extat et circumfertur mutilus. out the whole sixth chapter? wherein it is likely, yea rather of very surety, that the said Origen had written many things concerning the sacrament of the holy communion contrary to these men's minds, and would put forth that book mangled rather than full and perfect, for fear it should reprove them and their partners of their error? Call ye this trusting to antiquity, when ye rent in pieces, keep back, maim, and burn the ancient fathers' works?

It is a world to see, how well-favouredly and how to- [Ch. 3. div. 1. & 2. vi. p. 27.] wardly touching religion these men agree with the fathers of whom they use to vaunt that they be their own good [51]. [Concil. Elib. can. 36. Mansi, ii. 11.] The old council Eliberine made a decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in the churches.
Epiph. epist. ad Joh. episc. Hierosol. [inter opp. Hieronym. tom. iv. pt. 2. 828.] The old father Epiphanius saith, "It is a horrible wicked- [Ch. 3. div. 3. vi. p. 29.] ness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the church of the Christians, yea though it were the picture of Christ himself [52]." Yet these men store all their temples and each corner of them with painted and carved images, as though without them religion were nothing worth.

Orig. in Lev. cap. 16. [hom. 9. ii. 240.] Chrys. in Matt. hom. 2. [vii. 30, 31.] Idem in Joh. 31. [viii. 188.] The old fathers Origen and Chrysostom exhort the [Ch. 3. div. 4. vi. p. 33.] people to read the scriptures, to buy them books, to reason at home betwixt themselves of divine matters: wives with their husbands, and parents with their children [53]. These men condemn the scriptures as dead elements, and, as much
Cypr. epist. 11. lib. 1. [p. 102.] Epiph. contr. apostol. hær. 61. [i. 512.] Hierom. ad Demetr. [iv. pt. 2. 796.] as ever they may, bar the people from them. The ancient [Ch. 3. div. 4. vi. p. 37.] fathers Cyprian, Epiphanius, and Hierom say, For one who perchance hath made a vow to lead a sole life, and afterward liveth unchastely, and cannot quench the flames

[50] [Def. Apol. "the vow and promise notwithstanding."]
[51] [Apol. Lat. "suos."]
[52] [Supra, vol. iii. 223. note 60.]
[53] [See Def. Apol. in loc. for other authorities, and also the Replie art. xv., supra vol. iii. 263.]

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of lust, "it is better to marry a wife, and to live honestly in wedlock." And the old father Augustine judgeth the self-same marriage to be good and perfect, and that it ought not to be broken again. These men, if a man have once bound himself by a vow, though afterward he burn, keep queans, and defile himself with never so sinful and desperate a life, yet they suffer not that person to marry a wife: or if he chance to marry, they allow it not for marriage. And they commonly teach, it is much better and more godly to keep a concubine and harlot, than to live in that kind of marriage. [PART V.] [August. de bono vidult. cap. 10. [vi. 375.]

The old father Augustine complained of the multitude of ceremonies wherewith he even then saw men's minds and consciences overcharged: these men, as though God regarded nothing else but their ceremonies, have so out of measure increased them, that there is now almost none other thing left in their churches and places of prayer [54]. [August. ad Januar. ep. 118. [ii. 142.]

[Ch. 3. div. 5. vi. p. 38.] Again, that old father Augustine denieth it to be lawful for a monk to spend his time slothfully and idly, and under a pretended and counterfeit holiness to live all upon others. And whoso thus liveth, the old father Apollonius likeneth him to a thief [55]. These men have (I wot not whether to name them droves or herds of monks) who for all they do nothing, nor yet once intend to bear any show of holiness, yet live they not only upon others, but also riot lavishly of other folks' labours. [August. de opere monach. cap. 12. vi. 484.] [Socr. tom. ii. 238.]

[Ch. 3. div. 6. vi. p. 44.] The old council of Rome decreed, that no man should come to the service said by a priest well known to keep a concubine. These men let to farm concubines to their priests, and yet constrain men by force against their will to hear their cursed paltry service [56]. Concil. Rom. (cap. 8. *l.*) cap. 3. [xix. 907 d.]

[Ch. 3. div. 7. vi. p. 46.] The old canons of the apostles command that bishop to be removed from his office, which will both supply the place of a civil magistrate, and also of an ecclesiastical person. These men, for all that, both do and will needs serve both places. Nay rather, the one office which they [Apostol. can. 80 and 7.]

[54] [Supra, vol. iv. 343, and v. Def. Apol.] 214.]

[55] [See the editor's note in loc.

[56] [Apol. Lat. "illorum sacrilegia."]

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[PART V.] ought chiefly to execute they once touch not, and yet nobody commandeth them to be displaced.

[Can. 4. Mans. ii. 1101.] The old council Gangrense commandeth, that none should make such difference between an unmarried priest and a married priest, as he ought to think the one more holy than the other for single life's sake. These men put such a difference between them, that they straightway think all their holy service to be defiled, if it be done by a good and honest man that hath a wife. [Ch. 3. div. 8, vi. p. 48.]

In novell. Constit. 123. [ed. Haloander.] The ancient emperor Justinian commanded that, in the holy administration all things should be pronounced with a clear, loud, and treatable [56] voice, that the people might receive some fruit thereby [57]. These men, lest the people should understand them, mumble up all their service, not only with a drowned and hollow voice, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue. [Ch. 3. div. 9, vi. p. 60.]

Conc. Carth. 3. [cap. 47. ii. 891.] The old council at Carthage commanded, that nothing should be read in Christ's congregation but the canonical scriptures: these men read such things in their churches as themselves know of a truth to be stark lies and fond fables. [Ch. 3. div. 10, vi. p. 68.]

But if there be any that think these above rehearsed authorities be but weak and slender, because they were decreed by emperors and certain petit bishops, and not by so full and perfect councils, taking pleasure rather in the authority and name of the pope: let such a one know, that pope Julius doth evidently forbid, that the priest in ministering the communion should dip the bread in the cup. These men, contrary to pope Julius' decree, divide the bread, and dip it in the wine [58]. [Ch. 4. div. 1, vi. p. 71.]

DeCons. dist. 2. Cum enim nemo. [*leg.* Cum omne.]

[Clem. ad Jac. ep. 1, Crabb. i. 32.] [Bernard. de consid. ii. 495.] Pope Clement saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to deal with both swords [59], "For if thou wilt have both," saith he, "thou shalt deceive both thyself, and those that obey thee." [Ch. 4. div. 2, vi. p. 75.]

[56] [Apol. Lat. "expressa."]

[57] [Supra, ii. 43. note 25.]

[58] [Supra, vol. i. p. 424.]

[59] [It must be remembered, that bp. Jewel was aware of the spuriousness of this epistle, but that he used this quotation as an argum. ad hominem, as against those who professed to maintain its genuineness. Yet he is (as he confesses) guilty of an oversight here: for he confounds the words really used by the Pseudo-Clemens with St. Bernard's words, which are referred to in the margin of this edition. See Def. Apol.]

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Now-a-days the pope challengeth to himself both swords, [PART V.] and useth both. Wherefore it ought to seem less marvel, if that have followed which Clement saith, that is, "that he hath deceived both his own self, and those which have given ear unto him."

[Ch. 4. div. 3. vi, p. 77.] Pope Leo saith, "upon one day it is lawful to say but one mass in one church[60]." These men say daily in one church commonly ten masses, twenty, thirty, yea oftentimes more. So that the poor gazer on can scant tell which way he were best to turn him. [Leon. epist. i. 437.]

Pope Gelasius saith, "it is a wicked deed and sibb[61] to sacrilege in any man to divide the communion, and when he hath received one kind to abstain from the other." These men, contrary to God's word, and contrary to pope Gelasius, command, that one kind only of the holy communion be given to the people, and by so doing they make their priests guilty of sacrilege. [De cons. dist. 2. Comperimus.]

[Ch. 5. div. 1. vi, p. 79.] But if they will say, that all these things are worn now out of ure and nigh dead, and pertain nothing to these present times, yet to the end all folk may understand, what faith is to be given to these men, and upon what hope they call together their general councils, let us see in few words what good heed they take to the self-same thing, which they themselves these very last years, (and the remembrance thereof is yet new and fresh,) in their own general council that they had by order called, have decreed and commanded to be devoutly kept. In the last council at Trident, scant fourteen years past, it was ordained by the common consent of all degrees, "that one man should not have two benefices at one time." What is become now of that ordinance? Is the same too soon worn out of mind and clean consumed? For these men, ye see, give to one man not two benefices only, but sundry abbeys many times, sometimes also two bishoprics, sometime three, sometime four, and that not only to an unlearned man, but oftentimes also even to a man of war. [Concil. Trid. sess. 24. de Ref. cap. 17.]

[60] [This is rather *implied* than *said* by Leo. Compare supra, vol. iii, p. 199.]

[61] ["Akin;" in the Def. Apol. this old English word is changed into "subject."]

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[PART V.] In the said council a decree was made, that all bishops
[Ibid. cap. 4.] should preach the gospel. These men neither preach nor once go up into the pulpit, neither think they it any part of their office. What great pomp and crake then is this they make of antiquity? Why brag they so of the names of the ancient fathers, and of the new and old councils? Why will they seem to trust to their authority, whom when they list they despise at their pleasure.

But I have a special fancy to commune a word or two [Ch. 5. div. 2. vi. p. 80.] rather with the pope's good holiness, and to say these things to his own face. Tell us, I pray you, good holy father, [Ch. 6. div. 1. ib.] seeing ye do crake so much of all antiquity, and boast yourself that all men are bound to you alone, which of all the fathers hath at any time called you by the name of the *highest prelate*, the *universal bishop*, or the *head of the church* [62]? Which of them ever said "that both the swords [Ib. div. 2. p. 84.] were committed unto you?" Which of them ever said "that [Ib. div. 3. p. 86.] you have authority and right to call councils?" Which of [Ib. div. 4. p. 88.] them ever said "the whole world is but your diocese?" Which of them, "that all bishops have received of your [Ib. div. 5. p. 91.] fulness?" Which of them, "that all power is given to you [Ib. div. 6. p. 92.] as well in heaven as in earth?" Which of them, that [Ib. div. 7. p. 98.] "neither kings, nor the whole clergy, nor yet all the people together, are able to be judges over you?" Which of [Ib. div. 8. p. 101.] them, "that kings and emperors by Christ's commandment and will do receive authority at your hands?" Which of [Ib. div. 9. p. 104.] them with so precise and mathematical limitation hath surveyed and determined you "to be seventy and seven times greater than the mightiest kings?" Which of them, [Ib. div. 10. p. 106.] that more ample authority is given to you than to the residue of the patriarchs? Which of them, that you are [Ib. div. 11. p. 113.] the "Lord God [63]?" or that you are "not a mere natural [Ib. div. 12. p. 116.] man, but a certain substance made and grown together of God and man?" Which of them, that you are the only [Ib. div. 13. p. 117.] "headspring of all laws?" Which of them, that you have [Ib. div. 14. ib.]

De major. et obedientia: Unam sanctam.

Concilium Lateranense sub Julio V. Distinct. G. Innocentii.

De major. et obedien. Solitæ.

Extrav. Johan. 22. Cum inter: in glossa. Clement. in procem.: in gloss. [col. 4. lit. y.]

[62] [Supra, vol. ii. 287 and 310. The reader is advised to compare the following questions with the Def. Apol., according to the references in the inner margin.]

[63] [Supra, vol. ii. 195. note [35]; iii. 440. note [38]; and vi. 95. note [80].]

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[Ib. div. 15. p. 118.] "power over purgatories?" Which of them, that you are able to "command the angels of God" as you list your-

[Ib. div. 16. p. 120.] self[64]? Which of them that ever said, that you are "lord

[Ch. 7. div. 1. vi. p. 123.] of lords" and the "king of kings?" We can also go further with you in like sort. What one amongst the whole number of the old bishops and fathers ever taught you, either to say private mass while the people stared on, or to "lift up the sacrament" over your head, in which points consisteth now all your religion? Or else to "mangle Christ's sacraments," and to bereave the people of the one part contrary to Christ's institution and plain express words. But that we may once come to an end, what one is there of all the fathers which hath taught you to distribute Christ's blood and the holy martyr's merits, and to sell openly as merchandises your pardons and all the rooms

[Ch. 8. div. 1. vi. p. 130.] and lodgings of purgatory? These men are wont to speak much of a certain secret doctrine of theirs, and of their manifold and sundry readings. Then let them bring forth somewhat now, if they can, that it may appear they have at least read or do know somewhat. They have often stoutly noised in all corners where they went, how all the parts of their religion be very old, and have been approved not only of the multitude, but also by the consent and continual observation of all nations and times. Let them therefore once in their life shew this their antiquity: let them make appear at eye, that the things whereof they make such ado have taken so long and large increase: let them declare, that all Christian nations have agreed by consent to this their religion.

Nay, nay, they turn their backs, as we have said already, and flee from their own decrees, and have cut off and abolished again within a short space the same things, which, but a few years before, themselves had established, for evermore, forsooth, to continue. How should one then trust them in the fathers, in the old councils, and in the words spoken by God? They have not, good Lord, they have not (I say) those things which they boast they have: they have not that antiquity, they have not that universal-

[64] [The reader should consult the Def. Apol. in loco.]

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[PART V.] ity, they have not that consent of all places nor of all times. And though they have a desire rather to dissemble, yet they themselves are not ignorant hereof: yea, and sometime also they let not to confess it openly. And for this cause they say that the ordinances of the old councils and fathers be such as may now and then be altered, and that sundry and divers decrees serve for sundry and divers times of the church. Thus lurk they under the name of the church, and beguile silly creatures with their vain glozing. It is to be marvelled that either men be so blind that they cannot see this, or if they see it, to be so patient as they can lightly and quietly bear it.

But, whereas they have commanded, that those decrees should be void, as things now waxen too old, and that have lost their grace, perhaps they have provided in their stead certain other better things, and more profitable for the people. For it is a common saying with them, that "if Christ himself or the apostles were alive again, they could not better nor godlier govern God's church than it is at this present governed by them." They have put in their stead indeed: but it is "chaff instead of wheat," as Hieremy saith, and such things as, according to Esay's words, "God never required at their hands." "They have stopped up (saith he) all the veins of clear springing water, and have digged up for the people deceivable and puddle-like pits, full of mire and filth, which neither have nor are able to hold pure water[65]." They have plucked away from the people the holy communion, the word of God, from whence all comfort should be taken, the true worshipping of God also, and the right use of sacraments and prayer: and have given us of their own to play withal in the meanwhile salt, water, oil, boxes, spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, pardons, crosses, censings, and an endless rable of ceremonies, and (as a man might term with Plautus) pretty games to make sport withal. In these things have they set all their religion, teaching the people, that by these God may be duly pacified, spirits be driven away, and men's consciences well quieted. For these, lo, be the orient colours and precious savours of Christian religion:

[Ch. 9. div. 1. vi. p. 132.]

Jerem. xxiii. 28.

Is. i. 12.

[Plaut. Casin. iv. 1. 2.]

[Ch. 9. div. 2. vi. p. 140.]

[Ch. 10. div. 1. vi. p. 142.]

[65] [This is a paraphrase of Jerem. ii. 13.]

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these things doth God look upon and accepteth them thankfully; these must come in place to be honoured, and put quite away the institutions of Christ, and of his apostles. And like as in times past, when wicked king Jeroboam had taken from the people the right serving of God, and brought them to worship the golden calves, lest perchance they might afterward change their mind and slip away, getting them again to Jerusalem to the temple of God, there he exhorted them with a long tale to be steadfast, saying thus unto them: "O Israel, these calves be thy gods:" in this sort commanded your God you should worship him: for it should be wearisome and troublous for you to take upon you a journey so far off, and yearly to go up to Jerusalem there to serve and honour your God. Even after the same sort every whit, when these men had once made the law of God of none effect through their own traditions, fearing that the people should afterward open their eyes, and fall another way, and should somewhence else seek a surer mean of their salvation; Jesu, how often have they cried out, This is the same worshipping that pleaseth God, and which he straitly requireth of us, and wherewith he will be turned from his wrath: that by these things is conserved the unity of the church: by these all sins be cleansed, and consciences quieted: and that whoso departeth from these hath left unto himself no hope of everlasting salvation. For it were wearisome and troublous (say they) for the people to resort to Christ, to the apostles, and to the ancient fathers, and to observe continually what their will and commandment should be. This, ye may see, is to "withdraw the people of God from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees, and from the traditions of men." It were reason, no doubt, that Christ's commandments and the apostles' were removed, that these their devices might come in place. O just cause, I promise you, why that ancient and so long allowed doctrine should be now abolished, and a new form of religion be brought into the church of God. [PART V.]

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[PART V.] And yet whatsoever it be, these men cry still that nothing ought to be changed: that men's minds are well satisfied herewithal: that the church of Rome, the church which cannot err, hath decreed these things. For Silvester Prierias saith, that the Romish church is the squire and rule of truth, and that the holy scripture hath received from thence authority and credit. "The doctrine," saith he, "of the Romish church is the rule of most infallible faith, from the which the holy scripture taketh his force. And indulgences and pardons (saith he) are not made known to us by the authority of the scriptures, but they are made known to us by the authority of the Romish church, and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater. Pighius also letteth not to say, that without the license of the Romish church, we ought not to believe the very plain scriptures[65]. Much like as if any of those that cannot speak pure and clean Latin, and yet can babble out quickly and readily a little some such law Latin as serveth the court, would needs hold, that all others ought also to speak after the same way which Mammetrectus[66] and Catholicon[67] spake many years ago, and which themselves do yet use in pleading in court: for so may it be understood sufficiently what is said, and men's desires be satisfied: and that it is a fondness now in the latter end to trouble the world with a new kind of speaking; and to call again the old finesse and eloquence that Cicero and Cæsar used in their days in the Latin tongue. So much are these men beholden to the folly and darkness of the former times. "Many things," as one writeth, "are had in estimation oftentimes, because they have been once dedicate to the temples of the heathen gods." Even so we see at this day many things allowed and highly set by of these men, not because they judge them so much worth, but only because they have been received into a custom, and after a sort dedicate to the temple of God.

[Ch. 10. div. 2. vi. p. 144.]

[Silv. Prier. cont. Luth. Dialog. fund. 3.]

[65] [The editor has not succeeded in verifying this passage cited from "Pighii loc. comm. de ecclesia."]

[66] [A work designed to teach the ignorant monks the meaning of Latin words in the Bible.]

[67] [A Latin vocabulary: printed by Faust A. D. 1460.]

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[Ch. 11. div. 1. vi. p. 152.] "Our church," say they, "cannot err." They speak that [PART V.] (I think), as the Lacedæmonians long since used to say, that it was not possible to find any adulterer in all their commonwealth: whereas indeed they were rather all adulterers, and had no certainty in their marriages, but had their wives common amongst them all: or, as the canonists at this day, for their bellies' sake, use to say of the pope, that forsomuch as he is lord of all benefices, though he sell for money bishoprics, monasteries, priesthood, spiritual promotions, and part with nothing freely, yet, because he counteth all his own, "he cannot commit simony, though he would never so fain." But how strongly and agreeably to reason these things be spoken, we are not as yet able to perceive, except perchance these men have plucked off the wings from the truth, as the Romans [68] in old time did prune and pinion their goddess Victoria, after they had once gotten her home, to the end that with the same wings she should never more be able to flee away from them again. But what if Jeremy tell them, as is afore rehearsed, that these be lies? What if the same prophet say in another place that the self-same men, who ought to be keepers of the vineyard, have brought to nought and destroyed the Lord's vineyard? How if Christ say, that the same persons, who chiefly ought to have care over the temple, have made of the Lord's temple a den of thieves? If it be so that the church of Rome cannot err, it must needs follow, that the good luck thereof is far greater than all these men's policy. For such is their life, their doctrine, and their diligence, that for all them the church may not only err, but also utterly be spoiled and perish. No doubt, if that church may err which hath departed from God's words, from Christ's commandments, from the apostles' ordinances, from the primitive churches' examples, from the old fathers' and councils' orders, and from their own decrees, and which will be bound within the compass of none, neither old

Summa Angel. [in dict. Simonia No. 6.] Theodericus de Schism. [lib. 2. c. 32.]

[Pausan. lib. iii. p. 245. ed. Lips. 1696.]

[Ch. 11. div. 2. vi. p. 160.]

[Ch. 12. div. 1. vi. p. 161.]

[68] [Rather, the Athenians.]

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[PART V.] nor new, nor their own, nor other folks, nor man's law, nor God's law, then it is out of all question that the Romish church hath not only had power to err, but also that it hath shamefully and most wickedly erred in very deed.

But, say they, "ye have been of our fellowship, but now ye are become forsakers of your profession, and have departed from us." It is true: we have departed from them, and for so doing we both give thanks to Almighty God, and greatly rejoice on our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive church, from the apostles, and from Christ we have not departed. True it is, we were brought up with these men in darkness, and in the lack of the knowledge of God, as Moses was taught up in the learning and in the bosom of the Egyptians. "We have been of your company," saith Tertullian, "I confess it, and no marvel at all; for," saith he, "men be made and not born Christians[69]." But wherefore, I pray you, have they themselves, the citizens and dwellers of Rome, removed and come down from those seven hills, whereupon Rome sometime stood, to dwell rather in the plain called Mars's field? They will say peradventure, because the conduits of water, wherewithout men cannot commodiously live, have now failed and are dried up in those hills. Well then, let them give us like leave in seeking the water of eternal life, that they give themselves in seeking the water of the well. For the water verily failed amongst them. "The elders of the Jews," saith Jeremy, "sent their little ones to the waterings; and they finding no water, being in a miserable case, and utterly marred for thirst, brought home again their vessels empty." "The needy and poor folk," saith Esay, "sought about for water, but no water found they any, their tongue was even withered for thirst." Even so these men have broken in pieces all the pipes and conduits: they have stopped up all the springs, and choked up the fountain of living water

[Ch. 12. div. 2. vi. p. 162.]

In Apol. [c. 18. p. 17.]

[Ch. 13. div. 1. vi. p. 174.]

Jer. xiv. 3.

Is. xli. 17.

[69] ["De vestris fuimus. Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani."]

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with dirt and mire. And as Caligula many years past [PART V.] locked up fast all the storehouses of corn in Rome, and thereby brought a general dearth and famine amongst the people; even so these men, by damming up all the fountains of God's word, have brought the people into a pitiful thirst. They have brought into the world, as saith the prophet Amos, "a hunger, and a thirst: not the Amos viii. 11. hunger of bread, nor the thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God." With great distress went they scattering about, seeking some spark of heavenly life to refresh their consciences withal: but that light was already thoroughly quenched out, so that they could find none. This was a rueful state: this was a lamentable form of God's church. It was a misery to live therein, without the gospel, without light, and without all comfort.

[Ch. 13. div. 2. vi. p. 176.] Wherefore, though our departing were a trouble to them, yet ought they to consider withal how just cause we [Ch. 14. div. 1. vi. p. 178.] had of our departure. For if they will say, it is in no wise lawful for one to leave the fellowship wherein he hath been brought up, they may as well in our names, and upon our heads, condemn both the prophets, the apostles, and Christ himself. For why complain they not also of this, that Lot went quite his way out of Sodom, Abraham out of Chaldea, the Israelites out of Egypt, Christ from the Jews, and Paul from the Pharisees? For except it be possible there may be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reason why Lot, Abraham, the Israelites, Christ, and Paul, may not be accused of sects [Ch. 14. div. 2. vi. p. 179.] and sedition, as well as others. And if these men will needs condemn us for heretics, because we do not all things at their commandment, whom (in God's name) or what kind of men ought they themselves to be taken for, which despise the commandment of Christ, and of the [Ch. 14. div. 3. vi. p. 180.] apostles? If we be schismatics because we have left them, by what name then shall they be called themselves, which have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received their faith, forsaken the primitive church, forsaken Christ himself, and the apostles, even as if children should [Ch. 15. div. 1. vi. p. 183.] forsake their parents? For though those Greeks, who at

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[PART V.] this day profess religion, and Christ's name, have many things corrupted amongst them, yet hold they still a great number of those things which they received from the apostles. They have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons. And as for the titles of high bishops, and those glorious names, they esteem them so, as whosoever he were that would take upon him the same, and would be called either universal bishop, or the head of the universal church, they make no doubt to call such a one, both a passing proud man, a man that worketh despite against all the other bishops his brethren, and a plain heretic.

Now then, since it is manifest, and out of all peradventure, that these men are fallen from the Greeks, of whom they received the gospel, of whom they received the faith, the true religion, and the church; what is the matter, why they will not now be called home again to the same men, as it were, to their originals and first founders? And why be they afraid to take a pattern of the apostles' and old fathers' times, as though they all had been void of understanding? Do these men, ween ye, see more, or set more by the church of God, than they did, who first delivered us these things? [Ch. 15. div. 2. vi. p. 190.]

We truly have renounced that church, wherein we could neither have the word of God sincerely taught, nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God duly called upon: which church also themselves confess to be faulty in many points: and wherein was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety. To conclude, we have forsaken the church as it is now, not as it was in old times past, and have so gone from it, as Daniel went out of the lions' den, and the three children out of the furnace: and to say the truth, we have been cast out by these men, (being cursed of them, as they use to say, with book, bell, and candle[70],) rather than have gone away from them of ourselves. [Ch. 15. div. 3. vi. p. 191.] [Ch. 15. div. 4. vi. p. 192.]

And we are come to that church, wherein they them- [Ch. 15. div. 1. vi. p. 193.]

[70] ["Diris et devotionibus ejecti sumus." Apol. Lat.]

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selves cannot deny (if they will say truly, and as they think in their own conscience) but all things be governed purely and reverently, and, as much as we possibly could, very near to the order used in the old times. [PART V.]

[Ch. 16. div. 1. vi. p. 194.] Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see, that themselves have most shamefully gone from the apostles, and we most justly have gone from them. For we, following the example of Christ, of the apostles, and the holy fathers, give the people the holy communion, whole and perfect: but these men, contrary to all the fathers, to all the apostles, and contrary to Christ himself, do sever the sacraments, and pluck away the one part from the people, and that with most notorious sacrilege, as Gelasius termeth it.

We have brought again the Lord's supper unto Christ's institution, and have made it to be a communion in very deed, common and indifferent to a great number, according to the name[71]. But these men have changed all things, contrary to Christ's institution, and have made a private mass of the holy communion. And so it cometh to pass, that we give the Lord's supper unto the people, and they give them a vain pageant to gaze upon.

We affirm, together with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is not eaten but of the good and faithful, and of those that are endued with the spirit of Christ. Their doctrine is, that Christ's very body effectually, and, as they speak, really and substantially, may not only be eaten of the wicked and unfaithful men, but also (which is monstrous to be spoken) of mice and dogs[72].

We use to pray in our churches after that fashion, as according to Paul's lesson, the people may know what we pray, and may answer Amen, with a general consent. 1 Cor. xiv. 16. These men, like sounding metal, yell out in the churches unknown and strange words without understanding, without knowledge, and without devotion: yea, and do it of

[71] [In the Def. Apol. these words are added: "for of that it is called a communion."]

[72] [Supra, Replie, Art. 23. vol. iii. 455.]

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[PART V.] purpose, because the people should understand nothing at all.

But, not to tarry about rehearsing all points wherein we and they differ, for they have well nigh no end, we turn the scriptures into all tongues: they scant suffer them to be had abroad in any tongue[72]. We allure the people to read and to hear God's word: they drive the people from it. We desire to have our cause known to all the world: they flee to come to any trial. We lean unto knowledge: they unto ignorance. We trust unto light: they unto darkness. We reverence, as it becometh us, the writings of the apostles and prophets: and they burnt them[73]. Finally, we in God's cause desire to stand to God's only judgment? they will stand only to their own. Wherefore, if they will weigh all these things with a quiet mind, and fully bent to hear and to learn, they will not only allow this determination of ours, who have forsaken errors, and followed Christ and his apostles, but themselves also will forsake their own selves, and join of their own accord to our side.

[Ch. 16. div. 2. vi. p. 202.] [Ch. 16. div. 3. vi. p. 204.] [Ch. 16. div. 4. vi. p. 206.] [Ch. 16. div. 5. ibid.] [Ch. 16. div. 6. vi. p. 208.] [Ch. 16. div. 7. ibid.] [Ch. 16. div. 8. vi. p. 209.]

[PART VI.] But peradventure they will say, it was treason to attempt these matters without a sacred general council: for in that consisteth the whole force of the church: there Christ hath promised he will ever be a present assistant. Yet they themselves, without tarrying for any general council, have broken the commandments of God, and the decrees of the apostles: and, as we said a little above, they have spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only ordinances, but even the doctrine of the primitive church. And where they say it is not lawful to make a change without a council, what was he that gave us these laws, or from whence had they this injunction?

[Ch. 1. div. 1. vi. p. 210.]

Plutarchus. Truly king Agesilaus did but fondly, who, when he had a determinate answer made him of the opinion and will of mighty Jupiter, would afterward bring the whole matter before Apollo, to know whether he would allow thereof,

[Ch. 1. div. 2. vi. p. 211.]

[72] [Supra, vol. iii. 262.]

[73] [Apol. Lat. "comburunt."]

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as his father Jupiter did, or no. But yet should we do much more fondly, when we hear God himself plainly speak to us in his most holy scriptures, and may understand by them his will and meaning, if we would afterward (as though this were of none effect) bring our whole cause to be tried by a council; which were nothing else but to ask whether men would allow as God did, and whether men would confirm God's commandment by their authority. [PART VI.]

[Ch. 1. div. 3. vi. p. 212.] Why, I beseech you, except a council will and command, shall not truth be truth, and God be God? If Christ had meant to do so from the beginning, as that he would preach or teach nothing without the bishop's consent, but refer all his doctrine over to Annas and Caiaphas, where should now have been the Christian faith? or, who at any time should have heard the gospel taught? Peter verily, whom the pope hath oftener in his mouth, and more reverently useth to speak of, than he doth of Jesus Christ, did boldly stand against the holy council, saying, "it is better to obey God than men." And after Paul had once entirely embraced the gospel, and had received it, "not from men, nor by man, but by the only will of God, he did not take advice therein of flesh and blood," nor brought the case before his kinsmen and brethren, but went forthwith into Arabia, to preach God's divine mysteries by God's only authority. Gal. i. 12.

[Ch. 2. div. 1. vi. p. 213.] Yet truly, we do not despise councils, assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men; neither have we done that we have done altogether without bishops or without a council. The matter hath been treated in open parliament, with long consultation, and before a notable synod and convocation [74]?

[Ch. 3. div. 1. vi. p. 221.] But touching this council, which is now summoned [75] by the pope Pius, wherein men so lightly are condemned, which have been neither called, heard, nor seen, it is easy

[74] [It appears from what follows in the Def. of the Apology, that what is here alluded to is the parliament and convocation of the first of Elizabeth. See the note in p. 103, note [10] of this volume.]

[75] [Apol. Lat. "simulatur."]

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[PART VI.] to guess what we may look for or hope of it. In times past, when Nazianzene saw in his days how men in such assemblies were so blind and wilful, that they were carried with affections, and laboured more to get the victory than the truth, he pronounced openly, that he never had seen any good end of any council. What would he say now, if he were alive at this day, and understood the heaving and shoving [76] of these men? For at that time, though the matter were laboured on all sides, yet the controversies were well heard, and open error was put clean away by the general voice of all parts. But these men will neither have the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soever there be, suffer they any to be changed. For it is a common custom of theirs, often and shamelessly to boast that "their church cannot err; that in it there is no fault; and that they must give place to us in nothing." Or if there be any fault, yet must it be tried by bishops [77] and abbots only, because they be the directors and rulers of matters: and they be the church of God. Aristotle saith, that a "city cannot consist of bastards:" but whether the church of God may consist of these men, let their own selves consider. For doubtless, neither be the abbots legitimate abbots, nor the bishops natural right bishops [78]. But grant they be the church: let them be heard speak in councils; let them alone have authority to give assent: yet in old time, when the church of God (if ye will compare it with their church) was very well governed, both elders and deacons, as saith Cyprian, and certain also of the common people, were called thereunto, and made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters [79].

[Ch. 3. div. 2. vi. p. 222.]

Naz. ad Procop. [ii. 110.]

[Ch. 3. div. 3. vi. p. 225.]

[Cypr. ad Presb. et Diac. p. 11.]

But I put case, these abbots [and bishops] [80] have no knowledge: what if they understand nothing what reli-

[Ch. 3. div. 4. vi. p. 232.]

[76] [Apol. Lat. "conatus."]

[77] [The Def. Apol. reads "*their* bishops," to which there is nothing to correspond in the Latin.]

[78] [Apol. Lat. "Certe nec legitimi sunt abbates, nec genuini episcopi:" Def. Apol. "Neither be *their* abbots abbots indeed, nor *their* bishops such natural right bishops as they ought to be."]

[79] [Apol. Lat. "ad ecclesiasticarum causarum cognitionem."]

[80] [Added in Def. Apol.: so the Latin, "abbates et episcopi."]

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gion is, nor how we ought to think of God? I put case, [PART VI.] the pronouncing and ministering of the law be decayed in priests, and good counsel fail in the elders, and as the prophet Micah saith, "The night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of prophesying:" or, as Esaias saith: "What if all the watchmen of the city are become blind?" "What if the salt have lost his proper strength and savoriness," and, as Christ saith, "be good for no use, scant worth the casting on the dunghill?" Mic. iii. 6. Isaiah lvi. 10. Matt. v. 13. Luke xiv. 34.

[Ch. 4. div. 2. vi. p. 233.] Well! yet then they will bring all matters before the pope, who cannot err. To this I say, first, it is a madness to think that the Holy Ghost taketh his flight from a general council to run to Rome, to the end if he doubt or stick in any matter, and cannot expound it of himself, he may take counsel of some other spirit, I wot not what, that is better learned than himself[81]. For if this be true, what needed so many bishops, with so great charges, and so far journeys, have assembled their convocation at this present at Trident? It had been more wisdom and better, at least it had been a much nearer way and handsomer, to have brought all things rather before the pope, and to have come straight forth, and have asked counsel at his divine breast. Secondly, it is also an unlawful dealing to toss our matter from so many bishops and abbots, and to bring it at last to the trial of one only man, specially of him who himself is appeached by us of heinous and foul enormities, and hath not yet put in his answer: who hath also aforehand condemned us without judgment by order pronounced, and ere ever we were called to be judged.

[Ch. 4. div. 2. vi. p. 242.] How say ye, do we devise these tales? Is not this the course of the councils in these days? Are not all things removed from the whole holy council, and brought before the pope alone? that, as though nothing had been done to purpose by the judgments and consents of such a number, he alone may add, alter, diminish, disannul, allow, remit, and qualify whatsoever he list? Whose words be

[81] [See the Editor's note [91], vol. vi. 233.]

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[PART VI.] these then? and why have the bishops and abbots, in the last council of Trident, but of late concluded with saying thus in the end: "Saving always the authority of the see apostolic in all things?" or why doth pope Paschal write so proudly of himself? "As though," saith he, "there were any general council able to prescribe a law to the church of Rome: whereas all councils both have been made and have received their force and strength by the church of Rome's authority: and in ordinances made by councils, is ever plainly excepted the authority of the bishop of Rome." If they will have these things allowed for good, why be councils called? But if they command them to be void, why are they left in their books as things allowable?

Extra, de Elect. et elect. potest. Significasti. [col. 106.]

But be it so: let the bishop of Rome alone be above all councils, that is to say, let some one part be greater than the whole; let him be of greater power, let him be of more wisdom than all his; and, in spite of Hierom's head, let the authority "of one city be greater than the authority of the whole world." How then, if the pope have seen none of these things, and have never read either the scriptures, or the old fathers, or yet his own councils? How if he favour the Arians, as once pope Liberius did? or have a wicked and a detestable opinion of the life to come, and of the immortality of the soul, as pope John had but few years since? or, to increase his own dignity, do corrupt other councils, as pope Zosimus corrupted the council holden at Nice in times past; and do say that those things were devised and appointed by the holy fathers, which never once came into their thought: and, to have the full sway of authority, do wrest the scriptures, which, as Camotensis saith, is an usual custom with the popes? How if he have renounced the faith of Christ, and become an apostate, as Lyranus saith many popes have been? And yet for all this, shall the Holy Ghost, with turning of a hand, knock at his breast, and even whether he will or no, yea, and wholly against his will, kindle him a light, so as he may not err? Shall he straightway be the head-spring

[Ch. 5. div. 1. vi. p. 244.]

Hieron. ad Evag. [iv. pt. 2. p. 803.]

[Ch. 5. div. 2. vi. p. 250.]

[vi. p. 260.]

[vi. p. 261.]

[vi. p. 273.]

[Lyr. in S. Matt. cap. 16. tom. v. 280.]

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of all right, and shall all treasure of wisdom and understanding be found in him, as it were laid up in store[82]? or, if these things be not in him, can he give a right and apt judgment of so weighty matters? or, if he be not able to judge, would he have that all those matters should be brought before him alone? [PART VI.]

[Ch. 6. div. 1. vi. p. 277.] What will ye say, if the pope's advocates, abbots and bishops, dissemble not the matter, but shew themselves open enemies to the gospel, and though they see, yet they will not see, but wry the scriptures, and wittingly and knowingly corrupt and counterfeit the word of God, and foully and wickedly apply to the pope all the same things which evidently and properly be spoken of the person of Christ only, nor by no means can be applied to any other? And what though they say, "the pope is all and above all?" or "that he can do as much as Christ can?" and "that one judgment place and one council-house serve for the pope and for Christ both together?" or "that the pope is the same light which should come into the world," which words Christ spake of himself alone: and "that whoso is an evildoer hateth and flieth from that light?" or that all the other bishops have received of the pope's fulness? Host. [de transl. episc.] cap. Quanto. [tom. 1. pt. 1. fol. 84. col. 1.] Abb. Pan. de elect. cap. Venerabilis. [tom. 1. fol. 156. col. 1.] Cornel. Bl-tont. in Con. Trident. [inter Concion. Trident. p. 16. col. 2.] Durandus.

[Ch. 6. div. 2. vi. p. 279.] Shortly, what though they make decrees expressly against God's word, and that not in hucker-mucker or covertly, but openly and in the face of the world, must it needs yet be gospel straight whatsoever these men say? Shall these be God's holy army? or will Christ be at hand among them there? Shall the Holy Ghost flow in their tongues, or can they with truth say, We and the Holy Ghost have

[Ch. 6. div. 3. vi. p. 280.] thought so? Indeed Peter Asotus[83] and his companion Hosius stick not to affirm, that the same council wherein our Saviour Jesus Christ was condemned to die, had both the spirit of prophesying, and the Holy Ghost, and the spirit of truth in it: and that it was neither a false nor a trifling saying, when those bishops said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die:" and that they, so saying, Hos. contr. Brent. lib. 2. [ed. 1562. fol. 165. E.]

[82] [Apol. Lat. "tanquam in scrinio."] [83] [Apol. Lat. "Petrus a Soto."]

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[PART VI.] did light upon the very truth of judgment: (for so be Hosius' words:) and that the same plainly was a just decree whereby they pronounced that Christ was worthy to die. This, methinketh, is strange, that these men are not able to speak for themselves, and to defend their own cause, but they must also take part with Annas and Caiaphas [84]. For if they will call that a lawful and a good council wherein the Son of God was most shamefully condemned to die [85], what council will they then allow for false and naught? And yet (as all their councils, to say truth, commonly be) necessity compelled them to pronounce these things of the council holden by Annas and Caiaphas.

But will these men (I say) reform us the church, being themselves both the persons guilty, and the judges too? Will they abate their own ambition and pride? Will they overthrow their own matter, and give sentence against themselves that they must leave off to be unlearned bishops, slow bellies, heapers together of benefices, takers upon them as princes and men of war? Will the abbots, the pope's dear darlings, judge that monk for a thief which laboureth not for his living? and that it is against all law to suffer such a one to live and to be found either in city or in country, or yet of other men's charges? or else, that a monk ought to lie on the ground, to live hardly with herbs and pease [86], to study earnestly, to argue, to pray, to work with hand, and fully to bend himself to come to the ministry of the church? In faith, as soon will the Pharisees and scribes repair again the temple of God, and restore it unto us a house of prayer instead of a thievish den. [Ch. 7. div. 1. vi. p. 285.]

There have been, I know, certain of their own selves which have found fault with many errors in the church, as pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, cardinal Pole, Pighius and others, as is aforesaid: they held afterwards their council at Trident in the selfsame place where it is now appointed. There assembled many bishops and abbots, and others [Ch. 7. div. 2. vi. p. 290.]

[84] [The words "against Christ" were added in the translation as adopted in the Def. Apol.]

[85] [Def. Apol. "die *the death*," Apol. Lat. "ad crucem."]

[86] [Def. Apol. "peason."]

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whom it behoved for that matter. They were alone by themselves, whatsoever they did nobody gainsaid it [86], for they had quite shut out and barred our side from all manner of assemblies: and there they sat six years feeding folks with a marvellous expectation of their doings. The first six months, as though it were greatly needful, they made many determinations of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, which were godly things indeed, but not so necessary for that time. Let us see, in all that while, of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, and so evident errors, what one error have they amended? From what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people? What superstition have they taken away? What piece of their tyranny and pomp have they diminished? As though all the world may not now see that this is a conspiracy and not a council: and that these bishops whom the pope hath now called together be wholly sworn and become bound to bear him their faithful allegiance, and will do no manner of thing but that they perceive pleaseth him and helpeth to advance his power, and as he will have it: or that they reckon not of the number of men's voices rather than have weight and consideration of the same: or that might doth not oftentimes overcome right. [PART VI.]

[Ch. 7. div. 3. vi. p. 297.] And therefore we know that divers times many good men and catholic bishops did tarry at home and would not come when such councils were called, wherein men so apparently laboured to serve factions and to take parts, because they knew they should but lose their travail and do no good, seeing whereunto their enemies' minds were so wholly bent. Athanasius denied to come when he was called by the emperor to his council at Cæsarea, perceiving plain he should but come among his enemies which deadly hated him. The same Athanasius, when he came afterward to the council at Syrmium [87] and foresaw what would be the end by reason of the outrage and malice of his [Theodor. hist. eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. tom. iii. p. 60.]

[86] [Apol. Lat. "nemo erat, qui obstreperet."]

[87] [There is some mistake here: the council intended may be that of Tyre. See Cave's life of S. Athanasius, p. 84.]

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[PART VI.] enemies, he packed up his carriage, and went away immediately. John Chrysostom, although the emperor Constantius [88] commanded him by four sundry letters to come to the Arians' council, yet kept he himself at home still. When Maximus, the bishop of Jerusalem, sat in the council at Palestine the old father Paphnutius took him by the hand and led him out at the doors, saying, "It is not lawful for us to confer of these matters with wicked men." The bishops of the east would not come to the Syrmian council, after they knew Athanasius had gotten himself thence again. Cyril called men back by letters from the council of them which were named Patropassians. Paulinus bishop of Triers, and many others more, refused to come to the council at Milan, when they understood what a stir and rule Auxentius kept there: for they saw it was in vain to go thither, where not reason but faction should prevail, and where folk contended not for the truth and right judgment of the matter, but for partiality and favour.

Hist. Trip. lib. 10. c. 13.

Ruffin. lib. 1. [al. lib. 10.] cap. 7.

[Hist. Trip. lib. 5. c. 15.]

And yet for all those fathers had such malicious and stiffnecked enemies, yet if they had come they should have had free speech at least in the councils. But now, sithence none of us may be suffered so much as to sit, or once to be seen in these men's meetings, much less suffered to speak freely our mind: and seeing the pope's legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots all being conspired together, all linked together in one kind of fault, and all bound by one oath, sit alone by themselves, and have power alone to give their consent; and at last, when they have all done, as though they had done nothing, bring all their opinions to be judged at the will and pleasure of the pope, being but one man, to the end he may pronounce his own sentence of himself, who ought rather to have answered to his complaint: sithence also the same ancient and Christian liberty, which of all right should specially be in Christian councils, is now utterly taken away from the council: for these causes, I say, wise

[Ch. 8. div. 1. vi. p. 301.]

[88] [This is the reading in lady Bacon's translation and in the letter to Scipio. The Lat. Apol. reads correctly "Arcadio." Supra, vol. viii. 81.]

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and good men ought not to marvel at this day, though we do the like now, that they see was done in times past in like case of so many fathers and catholic bishops: which as though we choose rather to sit at home and leave our whole cause to God than to journey thither: whereas we neither shall have place nor be able to do any good: whereas we can obtain no audience: whereas princes' ambassadors be but used as mocking stocks: and whereas also we be condemned already, before trial: as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon. [PART VI.]

[Ch. 9. div. 1. vi. p. 308.] Nevertheless, we can bear patiently and quietly our own private wrongs. But wherefore do they shut out Christian kings and good princes from their convocation? Why do they so uncourteously, or with such spite, leave them out, and, as though they were not either Christian men, or else could not judge, will not have them made acquainted with the cause of Christian religion, nor understand the state of their own churches.

[Ch. 9. div. 2. vi. p. 308.] Or, if the said kings and princes happen to intermeddle in such matters, and take upon them to do that they may do, that they be commanded to do, and ought of duty to do, and the same things that we know both David and Solomon, and other good princes have done, that is, if they, whiles the pope and his prelates slug and sleep, or else mischievously withstand them, do bridle the priests' sensuality, and drive them to do their duty, and keep them still to it: if they do overthrow idols, if they take away superstition, and set up again the true worshipping of God, why do they by and by make an outcry upon them, that such princes trouble all, and press by violence into another body's office, and do thereby wickedly and malapertly? What scripture hath at any time forbidden a Christian prince to be made privy to such causes? Who but themselves alone made ever any such law?

[Ch. 9. div. 3. vi. p. 332.] They will say to this, I guess, Civil princes have learned to govern a commonwealth, and to order matters of war: but they understand not the secret mysteries of religion. If that be so, what is the pope, I pray you, at this day,

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[PART VI.] other than a monarch or a prince? or, what be the cardinals, who must be none other nowadays but princes and kings' sons? What else be the patriarchs, and, for the most part, the archbishops, the bishops, the abbots? What be they else at this present in the pope's kingdom but worldly princes, but dukes and earls, gorgeously accompanied with bands of men whithersoever they go: oftentimes also gaily arrayed with chains and collars of gold? They have at times too certain ornaments by themselves, as crosses, pillars[1], hats, mitres, and palls; which pomp the ancient bishops, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose never had. Setting these things aside, what teach they? what say they? what do they? how live they? I say not, as may become a [2]bishop, but as may become even a Christian man? Is it so great a matter to have a vain title, and by changing a garment only to have the name of a bishop?

Surely to have the principal stay and effect of all matters committed wholly to these men's hands, who neither know nor will know these things, nor yet set a jot by any point of religion, save that which concerneth their belly and riot; and to have them alone sit as judges, and to be set up as overseers in the watch-tower, being no better than blind spies: of the other side, to have a Christian prince of good understanding and of a right judgment to stand still like a block or a stake, not to be suffered neither to give his voice nor to shew his judgment, but only to wait what these men shall will and command, as one which had neither ears, nor eyes, nor wit, nor heart; and whatsoever they give in charge, to allow it without exception, blindly fulfilling their commandments, be they never so blasphemous and wicked, yea although they command him quite to destroy all religion, and to crucify again Christ himself: this surely, besides that it is [Ch. 10. div. 1. vi. p. 338.]

[1] [The word "pillars," Apol. Lat. "columnas," (the supporters of a cardinal's arms,) was omitted in the Def. of Apol.]

[2] [In Def. Apol. the word "catholic" is inserted without any authority for it in the Latin.]

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proud and spiteful, is also beyond all right and reason, and not to be endured of Christian and wise princes. Why, I pray you, may Caiaphas and Annas understand these matters, and may not David and Ezechias do the same? Is it lawful for a cardinal, being a man of war, and delighting in blood, to have place in a council? and is it not lawful for a Christian emperor or a king? We truly grant no further liberty to our magistrates than that we know hath both been given them by the word of God, and also been confirmed by the examples of the very best governed commonwealths. For, besides that a Christian prince hath the charge of both tables committed to him by God, to the end he may understand, that not temporal matters only, but also religious and ecclesiastical causes, pertain to his office: besides also, that God by his prophets[3] often and earnestly commandeth the king to cut down the groves, to break down the images and altars of idols, and to write out the book of the law for himself: and besides that, the prophet Isaiah saith: "A king ought to be a patron and nurse of the church[4]:" I say, besides all these things, we see by histories and by examples of the best times, that good princes ever took the administration of ecclesiastical matters to pertain to their duty.

[PART VI.]

[Ch. 11. div. 1. vi. p. 339.]

[Ch. 11. div. 2. vi. p. 342.]

[Ch. 11. div. 3. vi. p. 346.]

Isai. xlix. 23.

[Ch. 11. div. 4. vi. p. 352.]

[Ch. 11. div. 5. vi. p. 352.]

[Ch. 11. div. 6. vi. p. 359.]

[Ch. 11. div. 7. vi. p. 361.]

Moses, a civil magistrate, and chief guide of the people, both received from God and delivered to the people all the order for religion and sacrifices, and gave Aaron the bishop a vehement and sore rebuke for making the golden calf, and for suffering the corruption of religion. Joshua also, though he were none other than a civil magistrate, yet as soon as he was chosen by God[5], and set as a ruler over the people, he received commandments specially touching religion and the service of God. King David, when the whole religion was altogether brought out of frame by wicked king Saul, brought home again the ark of God,

Exod. xxxii. 21.

Joeli. i.

1 Chron. xiii.

[3] [There is nothing in the Latin to correspond to the words "by his prophets."]

[4] ["For kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers."]

[5] [Apol. Lat. "inauguraretur."]

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[PART VI.] that is to say, he restored religion again, and was not only amongst them himself as a counsellor and furtherer of the work, but he appointed also hymns and psalms, put in order the companies, and was the only doer in setting forth that whole solemn show, and in effect ruled the priests. King Solomon built unto the Lord the temple which his father David had but purposed in his mind to do: and [Ch. 11. div. 8. vi. p. 363.]

2 Chron. vi. 1 Kings viii. after the finishing thereof, he made a goodly oration to the people concerning religion and the service of God:

[1 Kings ii. 26. 27. 31.] he afterward [6] displaced Abiathar the priest [7], and set Sadok in his place. After this, when the temple of God was in shameful wise polluted through the naughtiness [Ch. 11. div. 9. vi. p. 364.]

2 Chron. xxix. 5. and negligence of the priest, king Hezekiah commanded the same to be cleansed from the rubble and filth, the priests to light up candles, to burn incense, and to do their divine service according to the old and allowed custom [8]:

2 Kings xviii. 4. the same king also commanded the brazen serpent, which then the people wickedly worshipped, to be taken down

2 Chron. xvii. 6. and beaten to powder. King Jehoshaphat overthrew and utterly made away the hill altars and groves, whereby he saw God's honour hindered, and the people holden back with a private superstition from the ordinary temple, which was at Jerusalem; whereto they should by order have resorted yearly from every part of the realm. King [Ch. 11. div. 10. vi. p. 366.]

2 Chron. xxxv. 2. 2 Kings xxiii. 20. Josiah with great diligence put the priests and bishops in mind of their duties: king Joash bridled the riot and

2 Kings xii. 7. 2 Kings x. 25. arrogancy of the priests: Jehu put to death the wicked prophets. [Ch. 11. div. 11. vi. p. 366.]

And to rehearse no more examples out of the old law, let us rather consider, since the birth of Christ, how the church hath been governed in the gospel's time. The Christian emperors in the old time appointed the councils of the bishops. Constantine called the council at Nice: [Ch. 12. div. 1. vi. p. 367.] [Ch. 12. div. 2. vi. p. 371.]

[6] [Abiathar had been displaced soon after the accession of Solomon, and some years before the dedication of the temple.]

[7] [Apol. Lat. "episcopum."]

[8] [Apol. Lat. "accendi lumina, "suffitus adoleri, et veteri ritu sa- "cra fieri." No mention is made of the priests.]

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Theodosius the First called the council at Constantinople: [PART VI.]
Theodosius the Second, the council at Ephesus: Martian,
[Ch. 12. div. 3. vi. p. 393.] the council at Chalcedon: and when Ruffine the heretic had alleged for authority a council, which, as he thought, should make for him, St. Hierom his adversary, to confute him, "Tell us," quod he, "what emperor commanded that council to be called?" The same St. Hierom again, in his epitaph upon Paula, maketh mention of the emperor's letters, which gave commandment to call the "bishops of Italy
[Ch. 12. div. 4. vi. p. 395.] and Greece to Rome, to a council [9]." Continually, for the space of five hundred years, the emperor alone appointed the ecclesiastical assemblies, and called the councils of the bishops together.

[Apol. contr. Ruff. lib. 2. tom. iv. pt. 2. pt. 415.]
[In Epitaph. Paul. tom. iv. pt. 2. 672.]

We now therefore marvel the more at the unreasonable dealing of the bishop of Rome, who knowing what was the emperor's right, when the church was well ordered, knowing also that it is now a common right to all princes, for so much as the kings are now fully possessed in the several parts of the whole empire [10], doth so without consideration assign that office alone to himself, and taketh it sufficient, in summoning a general council, to make that man that is prince of the whole world no otherwise partaker thereof than he would make his own servant [11].
[Ch. 12. div. 5. vi. p. 408.] And although the modesty and mildness of the emperor Ferdinand be so great, that he can bear this wrong, because peradventure he understandeth not well the pope's packing, yet ought not the pope of his holiness to offer him that wrong, nor to claim as his own another man's right.

Pius IV. in Bulla sua ad imperat. Ferdinandum.

[Ch. 13. div. 1. vi. p. 408.] But hereto some will reply: The emperor indeed called councils at that time ye speak of, because the bishop of

[9] [There is nothing in the Apol. Lat. to correspond to the words "to a council."]

[10] [See a similar line of argument in the Epistola ad Scipionem, supra, p. 77 of this volume.]

[11] [In Pius IV. Bull, 3 kal. Dec. 1560, the expressions alluded to are probably these: "*Habita igitur cum* venerabilibus fratribus "nostris S. R. E. Card. *deliberatione matura, factis* etiam *consilii nostri certioribus* charissimis in "Christi filiis nostris, Ferdinando "Rom. Imp. electo, et aliis regibus, &c."]

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[PART VI.] Rome was not yet grown so great as he is now, but yet the emperor did not then sit together with the bishops in council, or once bare any stroke with his authority in their consultation. I answer, Nay, that is not so, for as witnesseth Theodoret, the emperor Constantine sat not only together with them in the council of Nice, but gave also advice to the bishops how it was best to try out the matter by the apostles' and prophets' writings, as appear-

Theod. lib. 1. c. 5. [*l.* c. 7. tom. iii. 26.] eth by these his own words: "In disputation" (saith he) "of matters of divinity, we have set before us to follow

[Vid. et Euseb. in Vit. Const. iii. 10. 12. 13.] the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. For the evangelists' and the apostles' works, and the prophets' sayings, shew us sufficiently what opinion we ought to have of the will of

Socrat. lib. 5. c. 10. [ii. 275.] God." The emperor Theodosius (as saith Socrates) did not only sit amongst the bishops, but also ordered the whole arguing of the cause, and tare in pieces the heretics' books, and allowed for good the judgment of the

[Evagr. lib. 2. c. 4. tom. iii. 288. et c. 18. p. 314.] catholics. In the council at Chalcedon, a civil magistrate condemned for heretics, by the sentence of his own mouth, the bishops Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, and gave judgment to put them down from their dignities in

Conc. Constant. 3. [tom. xi. 656.] the church. In the third council at Constantinople, Constantine [12], a civil magistrate, did not only sit amongst the bishops, but did also subscribe with them. For, saith he,

[Conc. Araus. 2. tom. viii. 719.] "we have both read and subscribed." In the second council called Arausicanum, the prince's ambassadors, being noble men born, not only spake their mind touching religion, but set to their hands also, as well as the bishops. For thus it is written in the latter end of that council: "Petrus, Marcellinus, Felix, and Liberius [13], being most noble men, and famous lieutenants, and captains of France, and also peers of the realm, have given their consent, and set to their hands." Further: "Sya-

[Ch. 13. div. 2. vi. p. 416.]

[Ch. 14. div. 1. vi. p. 419.]

[Ch. 14. div. 2. vi. p. 424.]

[Ch. 14. iv. 3. vi. p. 425.]

[12] [Constantine V. Pogonatus.]

[13] [Sirmond. ap. Mansi declares these to be four names of one person. The subscription is as follows: "Petrus Marcellinus Felix Liberius V. C. et illustris "præfectus prætorii Galliarum atque patricius, consentiens subscripsi."]

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grius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariattho, and Mar- [PART VI.]
[Ch. 14. div. 4. vi. p. 425.] cellus, men of very great honour, have subscribed." If it be so then, that lieutenants, captains, and peers have had authority to subscribe in council, have not emperors and kings the like authority?

[Ch. 14. div. 5. vi. p. 429.] Truly there had been no need to handle so plain a matter as this is with so many words, and so at length, if we had not to do with those men, who, for a desire they have to strive and to win the mastery, use of course to deny all things, be they never so clear, yea the very same which
[Ch. 14. div. 6. vi. p. 434.] they presently see and behold with their own eyes. The emperor Justinian made a law to correct the behaviour of the clergy, and to cut short the insolency of the priests. And albeit he were a Christian and a catholic prince, yet put he down from their papal throne two popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, notwithstanding they were Peter's successors and Christ's vicars.

[Authent. de Eccles. diversa. capit. col. 9. tit. 6. cap. 9.]
[Auth. tit. 123. ap. Haloandr. fol. 344. a.]
[Crabb. Concill. tom. II. pp. 1. 2. 3.]

[Ch. 15. div. 1. vi. p. 442.] Let us see then, such men as have authority over the bishops, such men as receive from God commandments concerning religion, such as bring home again the ark of God, make holy hymns, oversee the priests, build the temple, make orations touching divine service, cleanse the temples, destroy the hill altars, burn the idols' groves, teach the priests their duties, write them out precepts how they should live, kill the wicked prophets, displace the high priests, call together the councils of bishops, sit together with the bishops, instructing them what they ought to do, condemn and punish an heretical bishop, be made acquainted with matters of religion, which subscribe and give sentence, and do all these things not by any other man's commission, but in their own name, and that both uprightly and godly: shall we say, it pertaineth not to such men to have to do with religion? or shall we say, a Christian magistrate, which dealeth amongst others in these matters, doth either naughtily, or presumptuously, or wickedly? The most ancient and Christian emperors and kings that ever were, did busy themselves with these matters, and yet were they never for this cause noted

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[PART VI.] either of wickedness, or of presumption. And what is he, that can find out either more catholic princes, or more notable examples?

Wherefore, if it were lawful for them to do thus, being but civil magistrates, and having the chief rule of commonweals, what offence have our princes at this day made, which may not have leave to do the like, being in the like degree? or what especial gift of learning, or of judgment, or of holiness have these men now, that, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who used to confer with princes and peers concerning religion, they do now thus reject and cast off Christian princes from knowing of the cause, and from their meetings? [Ch. 15. div. 2. vi. p. 447.]

Well, thus doing, they wisely and warily provide for themselves, and for their kingdom, which otherwise they see is like shortly to come to nought. For if so be they, whom God hath placed in greatest dignity, did see and perceive these men's practices, how Christ's commandments be despised by them, how the light of the gospel is darkened and quenched out by them, and how themselves also be subtlely beguiled and mocked, and unawares be deluded by them, and the way to the kingdom of heaven stopped up before them; no doubt they would never so quietly suffer themselves neither to be disdained after such a proud sort, nor so despitefully to be scorned and abused by them. But now, through their own lack of understanding, and through their own blindness, these men have them fast yoked, and in their danger. [Ch. 15. div. 3. vi. p. 447.]

We truly for our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion, either upon rashness or arrogancy: nor nothing but with good leisure and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured will of God, opened to us in his holy scriptures, and the regard of our own salvation, had even constrained us thereunto. For though we have departed from that church, which these men call catholic, and by that means get us envy amongst them that want skill to judge, yet is this enough for us, and ought [Ch. 16. div. 1. vi. p. 450.]

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to be enough for every wise and good man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life, that we have gone from that church which had power to err: which Christ, who cannot err, told so long before it should err: and which we ourselves did evidently see with our eyes to have gone both from the [14] holy fathers, and from the apostles, and from Christ his own self, and from the primitive and catholic church: and we are come, as near as we possibly could, to the church of the apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers; which church we know hath hereunto been sound and perfect, and, as Tertullian termeth it, a pure virgin, spotted as yet with no idolatry, nor with any foul or shameful fault: and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer. [PART VI.]

[Ch. 16. div. 2. vi. p. 453.] And, as we know both Christ himself and all good men heretofore have done, we have called home again to the original and first foundation, that religion which hath been foully foreslowed, and utterly corrupted by these men. For we thought it meet, thence to take the pattern of reforming religion, from whence the ground of religion was first taken: because this one reason, as saith the most ancient father Tertullian, hath great force against all heresies: "Look, whatsoever was first, that is true: and whatsoever is latter, that is corrupt." Irenæus oftentimes appealed to the oldest churches, which had been nearest to Christ's time, and which it was hard to believe had erred. But why at this day is not the same respect and consideration had? Why return we not to the pattern of the old churches? Why may not we hear at this time amongst us the same saying, which was openly pronounced in times past in the council at Nice by so many bishops and catholic fathers, and nobody once speaking against it, ἔθη ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω: that is to say, "hold still the old customs?" When Esdras went about to repair the ruins of the temple of God, he sent not to Ephesus, although the most beautiful and gorgeous temple of Diana was there:

[Tertull. adv. Praxeam c. 2. p. 501.] [Iren. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 175.]

[Concil. Nic. can. 6.]

[Ch. 17. div. 1 and 2. vi. p. 463.]

[14] [In Def. Apol. "old" is here inserted.]

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[PART VI.] and when he purposed to restore the sacrifices and ceremonies of God, he sent not to Rome, although peradventure he had heard in that place were the solemn sacrifices called Hecatombæ, and other called Solitaurilia, Lectisternia, and Supplicationes, and Numa Pompilius' ceremonial books [15]. He thought it enough for him, to set before his eyes, and follow the pattern of the old temple, which Solomon at the beginning builded according as God [Ezra iii. 2. to] had appointed him, and also those old customs and ceremonies, which God himself had written out by special words for Moses.

The prophet Aggæus, after the temple was repaired again by Esdras, and the people might think they had a very just cause to rejoice on their own behalf, for so great [Hagg. ii. 3. Ezra iii. 12.] a benefit received of Almighty God, yet made he them all burst out into tears, because that they which were yet alive, and had seen the former building of the temple, before the Babylonians destroyed it, called to mind, how far off it was yet from that beauty and excellency which it had in the old times past before. For then indeed would they have thought the temple worthily repaired, if it had answered to the ancient pattern, and to the majesty of the first temple. Paul, because he would amend the abuse of the Lord's supper which the Corinthians even then begun to corrupt, he set before them Christ's institution to follow, 1 Cor. xi. 23. saying: "I have delivered unto you that which I first received of the Lord." And when Christ did confute the error of the Pharisees, "Ye must," saith he, "return to the Matt. xix. 8. first beginning: for from the beginning it was not thus." And when he found great fault with the priests for their uncleanness of life, and covetousness, and would cleanse the temple from all evil abuses, "This house," saith he, "at the first beginning it was a house of prayer," wherein all the people might devoutly and sincerely pray together. And so it were your part to use it now also at this day. For it was not builded to the end it should be a "den of

[15] [In the Def. Apol. the following sentence is added; "or manuals or portuises, containing the service of their Gods." In the Latin it is simply "Libros Numæ "Pompilii rituales."]

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thieves." Likewise all the good and commendable princes mentioned of in the scriptures, were praised specially by those words, that they had walked in the ways of their father David: that is, because they had returned to the first and original foundation, and had restored religion even to the perfection wherein David left it. And therefore when we likewise saw all things were quite trodden under foot of these men, and that nothing remained in the temple of God but pitiful spoils and decays, we reckoned it the wisest and the safest way to set before our eyes those churches, which we know for a surety, that they never had erred, nor never had private mass, nor prayers in a strange and barbarous language, nor this corrupting of sacraments, and other toys. [PART VI.]

And forsomuch as our desire was, to have the temple of the Lord restored anew, we would seek none other foundation, than the same which we know was long ago laid by the apostles, that is to wit, "our Saviour Jesus Christ." And forasmuch as we heard God himself speaking unto us in his word, and saw also the notable examples of the old and primitive church: again, how uncertain a matter it was to wait for a general council, and that the success thereof would be much more uncertain: but specially forsomuch as we were most ascertained of God's will, and counted it a wickedness to be too careful, and overcumbered about the judgments of mortal men: we could no longer stand taking advice with flesh and blood, but rather thought good to do the same thing, that both might rightly be done, and hath also many a time been done, as well of good men, as of many catholic bishops: that is, to remedy our own churches by a provincial synod. For thus [16] know we the old fathers used to put in experience, before they came to the public universal council. There remain yet at this day canons, written in councils of free cities, as of Carthage under Cyprian, as of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and Gangra, which is in Paphlagonia, as some think, before that the name of the general council at Nice was ever heard of.

[16] [See the Epistola ad Scipionem, supra in this volume, p. 105.]

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[PART VI.] After this fashion in old time did they speedily meet with and cut short those heretics the Pelagians, and the Donatists at home, by private disputation, without any general council. Thus also when the emperor Constantine evidently and earnestly took part with Auxentius the bishop of the Arians' faction, Ambrose[17], the bishop of the Christians, appealed not unto a general council, where he saw no good could be done, by reason of the emperor's might and great labour[18]; but appealed to his own clergy and people, that is to say, to a provincial synod. And thus it was decreed in the council at Nice, that the bishops should assemble twice every year. And in the council at Carthage it was decreed, that the bishops should meet together in each of their provinces, at least once in the year[19]: which was done, as saith the council of Chalcedon, of purpose, that, if any errors and abuses had happened to spring up any where, they might immediately at the first entry be destroyed where they first began. So likewise when Secundus and Palladius rejected the council at Aquileia, because it was not a general and a common council, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, made answer, that no man ought to take it for a new or strange matter, that the bishops of the West part of the world did call together synods, and make private assemblies in their provinces, for that it was a thing before then used by the West bishops no few times, and by the bishops of Greece used oftentimes and commonly to be done. And so Charles the Great, being emperor, held a provincial council in Germany for putting away images, contrary to the second council at Nice. Neither pardy even amongst us is this so very a strange and new a trade. For we have had ere now in England, provincial synods, and governed our churches by home-made laws. What should one say

[Conc. Nic. can. 5. Mansi ii. 669.] [Mansi iii. 880.]

[Mansi vii. 389. cap. 19.]

[Mansi iii. 602. b.]

[Concil. Francof.]

[17] [This is the true reading, according to the ed. of the Lat. Apol. of 1562. Later editions have changed this to Athanasius.—Thus far the editor desires to modify his statement supra, vol. vi. 466. note [36].]

[18] [Apol. Lat. "propter imperatoris potentiam et studium partium."]

[19] [Concil. Carthag. 2; "... Singulis quibusque annis concilium convocatur: ad quod omnes provinciæ quæ primas sedes habent de conciliis suis ternos legatos mittant."]

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more? Of a truth, even those greatest councils, and where most assembly of people ever was, (whereof these men use to make such an exceeding reckoning,) compare them with all the churches which throughout the world acknowledge and profess the name of Christ, and what else, I pray you, can they seem to be but certain private councils of bishops and provincial synods? For admit peradventure Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland meet together: if there want Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there be both many Christian men, and also bishops, how can any man, being in his right mind, think such a council to be a general council? or where so many parts of the world do lack, how can they truly say they have the consent of the whole world? Or what manner of council, ween you, was the same last at Trident? Or how might it be termed a general council, when out of all Christian kingdoms and nations there came unto it but only forty bishops, and of the same, some so cunning[20], that they might be thought meet to be sent home again, to learn their grammar, and so well learned, that they had never studied divinity[21]? [PART VI.]

[Ch. 18. div. 1. vi. p. 479.] Whatsoever it be, the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ dependeth not upon councils, nor, as St. Paul saith, upon mortal creature's judgment[22]. And if they which ought to be careful for God's church will not be wise, but slack their duty, and harden their hearts against God, and his Christ, going on still to pervert the right ways of the Lord, God will stir up the very stones, and make children and babes cunning[23], whereby there may ever be some to confute these men's lies. For God is able (not only without councils,) but also, will the councils, nill the councils, to maintain and advance his own kingdom. "Full many be the thoughts of man's heart," (saith Solomon;) "but the

1 Cor. iv. 3.

[Ch. 18. div. 2. vi. p. 480.]

Prov. xix. 21.

[20] [Apol. Lat. "ita diserti."]

[21] [Def. Apol. "any part of divinity."]

[22] [Apol. Lat. "ab humano die:" see the margin of the English authorized version: from the Greek.]

[23] [Apol. Lat. "disertos."]

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[PART VI.] counsel of the Lord abideth steadfast:" "There is no wisdom, there is no knowledge, there is no counsel against the Lord." "Things endure not" (saith Hilarius) "that be set up with men's workmanship: by another manner of means must the church of God be builded and preserved: for that church is grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner stone, which is Christ Jesu."

Hilar. in Psalm. 126. [p. 417.]

But marvellous notable, and to very good purpose, for these days, be Hierom's words: "Whosoever" (saith he) "the devil hath deceived, and enticed to fall asleep, as it were, with the sweet and deathly enchantments of the mermaids the Syrens, those persons doth God's word awake up, saying unto them, Arise thou that sleepest: lift up thyself, and Christ shall give thee light. Therefore at the coming of Christ, of God's word, of the ecclesiastical doctrine, and of the full destruction of Nineveh, and of that most beautiful harlot, then, then shall the people, which heretofore had been cast in a trance under their masters, be raised up, and shall make haste to go to the mountains of the scripture: and there shall they find hills, Moses verily, and Joshua the son of Nun: other hills also, which are the prophets: and hills of the New Testament, which are the apostles and the evangelists. And when the people shall flee for succour to such hills, and shall be exercised in the reading of those kind of mountains, though they find not one to teach them, (for the harvest shall be great, but the labourers few,) yet shall the good desire of the people be well accepted, in that they have gotten them to such hills; and the negligence of their masters shall be openly reproved." These be Hierom's sayings, and that so plain, as there needeth no interpreter. For they agree so just with the things we now see with our eyes have already come to pass, that we may verily think that he meant to foretell, as it were, by the spirit of prophecy, and to paint before our face the universal state of our time: the fall of the most gorgeous harlot Babylon: the repairing again of God's church: the blindness and

[Ch. 19. div. 1. vi. p. 482.]

Hieron. in Naum. cap. 3. [fol. 1590.]

Eph. v. 14.

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sloth of the bishops, and the good will and forwardness of the people. For who is so blind, that he seeth not these men be the masters, by whom the people, as saith Hierom, hath been led into error, and lulled asleep? Or who seeth not Rome, that is their Nineveh, which sometime was painted with fairest colours, but now, her vizard being pulled off, is both better seen, and less set by? Or who seeth not, that good men, being awaked, as it were, out of their dead sleep, at the light of the gospel, and at the voice of God, have resorted to the hills of the scriptures, waiting not at all for the councils of such masters? [PART VI.]

[Ch. 20. div. 1. vi. p. 492.] But by your favour, some will say, these things ought not to have been attempted without the bishop of Rome's commandment, forsomuch as he only is the knot and band of Christian society. He only is that priest of Levi's order, whom God signified in the Deuteronomy, from whom counsel in matters of weight, and true judgment ought to be fetched[24]: and whoso obeyeth not his judgment, the same man ought to be killed in the sight of his brethren: and that no mortal creature hath authority to be judge over him, whatsoever he do: that Christ reigneth in heaven, and he in earth: that he alone can do as much as Christ or God himself can do, because Christ and he have but one council-house: that without him is no faith, no hope, no church: and whoso goeth from him quite casteth away and renounceth his own salvation. Such talk have the canonists, the pope's parasites, surely, but with small discretion or soberness. For they could scant say more, at least they could not speak more highly of Christ himself.

[Ch. 20. div. 2. vi. p. 493.] As for us, truly we have fallen from the bishop of Rome upon no manner of worldly respect or commodity. And would to Christ he so behaved himself, as this falling away needed not: but so the case stood, that unless we left him, we could not come to Christ. Neither will he now make any other league with us, than such a one as Nahas the king of the Ammonites would have made in 1 Sam. xi. 2.

[24] [In Def. Apol. the obsolete form "fette" occurs.]

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[PART VI.] times past with them of the city of Jabez, which was to put out the right eye of each one of the inhabitants[25]. Even so will the pope pluck from us the holy scripture, the gospel of our salvation, and all the confidence which we have in Christ Jesu[26]. And upon other condition can he not agree upon peace with us.

For whereas some use to make so great a vaunt, that the pope is only Peter's successor, as though thereby he carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and cannot err, this is but a matter of nothing, and a very trifling tale. God's grace is promised to a good mind, and to one that feareth God, not unto sees and successions. "Riches," saith Hierom, "may make a bishop to be of more might than the rest: but all the bishops," whosoever they be, "are the successors of the apostles." If so be the place and consecrating only be sufficient, why then Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron. And it hath been often seen, that an idol hath stand in the temple of God. In old time Archidamus the Lacedæmonian boasted much of himself, how he came of the blood of Hercules[27]. But one Nicostratus in this wise abated his pride: Nay, quoth he, thou seemest not to descend from Hercules. For Hercules destroyed ill men, but thou makest good men evil. And when the Pharisees bragged of their lineage, how they were of the kindred and blood of Abraham. "Ye," saith Christ, "seek to kill me, a man which have told you the truth, as I heard it from God. Thus Abraham never did. Ye are of your father the devil, and will needs obey his will."

[Ch. 20. div. 3. vi. p. 494.]

[Ad Evagr. tom. iv. pt. 2. 803.]

John viii. 40.

Yet notwithstanding, because we will grant somewhat to succession, tell us, hath the pope alone succeeded Peter? And wherein, I pray you? In what religion? in what office? in what piece of his life hath he succeeded him? What one thing (tell me) had Peter ever like unto

[Ch. 21. div. 1. vi. p. 498.]

[25] [In Def. Apol. these words are added: "and so to receive them into his friendship."]

[26] [Def. Apol. adds: "as the eye from our head."]

[27] [Def. Apol. adds without any authority from the Lat.: "as the pope this day boasteth himself of the succession and place of Peter."]

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the pope, or the pope like unto Peter? Except peradventure they will say thus: that Peter, when he was at Rome, never taught the gospel, never fed the flock, took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hid the treasures of his Lord, sat him down only in his castle in S. John Lateran, and pointed out with his finger all the places of purgatory, and kinds of punishments, committing some poor souls to be tormented, and other some again suddenly releasing thence at his own pleasure, taking money for so doing: or that he gave order to say private masses in every corner: or that he mumbled up the holy service with a low voice, and in an unknown language: or that he hanged up the sacrament in every temple, and on every altar, and carried the same about before him whithersoever he went, upon an ambling jannet, with lights and bells: or that he consecrated with his holy breath, oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, churches, and altars, or that he sold jubilees, graces, liberties, advowsons[28], preventions, first fruits, palls, the wearing of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons[29]: or that he called himself by the name of the head of the church, the highest bishop, bishop of bishops, alone most holy: or that by usurping he took upon himself the right and authority over other folk's churches: or that he exempted himself from the power of any civil government: or that he maintained wars, and set princes together at variance: or that he sitting in his chair, with his triple crown full of labels, with sumptuous and Persian-like gorgeousness, with his royal sceptre, with his diadem of gold, and glittering with stones, was carried about, not upon palfrey[30], but upon the shoulders of noble men. These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his successors, as you would say, from hand to hand: for these things be now-a-days done at Rome by the popes, and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done. [PART VI.]

[28] [Apol. Lat. "expectationes."]
[29] [Ibid. "diplomata."]
[30] [There is nothing in the Lat. to correspond to these words.]

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[PART. VI.] Or contrariwise, peradventure they had rather say thus, [Ch. 21. div. 2. vi. p. 501.] that the pope doth now all the same things, which we know Peter did many a day ago: that is, that he runneth up and down into every country to preach the gospel, not only openly abroad, but also privately from house to house: that he is diligent, and applieth that business in season and out of season, in due time and out of due time: that he doth the part of an evangelist, that he fulfilleth the work and ministry of Christ, that he is the watchman of the house of Israel, receiveth answers and words at God's mouth; and even as he receiveth them, so delivereth them over to the people: that he is the salt of the earth: that he is the light of the world: that he doth not feed his own self, but his flock: that he doth not entangle himself with the worldly cares of this life: that he doth not use a sovereignty over the Lord's people: that he seeketh not to have other men minister to him, but himself rather to minister unto others: that he taketh all bishops as his fellows and equals: that he is subject to princes, as to persons sent from God: that he giveth to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's: and that he, as the old bishops of Rome did without any question, calleth the emperor his lord. Unless therefore the popes do the like now-a-days, and Peter did the things aforesaid, there is no cause at all why they should glory so of Peter's name, and of his succession.

Much less cause have they to complain of our departing, [Ch. 22. div. 1. vi. p. 502.] and to call us again to be fellows and friends with them, and to believe as they believe. Men say, that one Cobilon a Lacedæmonian, when he was sent ambassador to the king of the Persians, to treat of a league, and found by chance them of the court playing at dice, he returned straightway home again, leaving his message undone. And when he was asked why he did slack to do the things which he had received by public commission to do, he made answer, he thought it should be a great reproach to his commonwealth to make a league with dicers. But if we should content ourselves to return to the pope, and to

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his popish errors, and to make a covenant not only with dicers, but also with men far more ungracious and wicked than any dicers be: besides that this should be a great blot to our good name, it should also be a very dangerous matter, both to kindle God's wrath against us, and to clog and condemn our own souls for ever. For of very truth, we have departed from him, who we saw had blinded the whole world this many a hundred year: from him, who too far presumptuously was wont to say, "he could not err," and whatsoever he did "no mortal man had power to condemn him, neither kings, nor emperors, nor the whole clergy," nor yet all the people in the world together; no, and though he should carry away with him to hell a thousand souls: from him who took upon him power to command, not only men, but even God's angels, to go, to return, to lead souls into purgatory, and to bring them back again when he list himself[30]: whom [31] Gregory said, without all doubt, is the very forerunner and standard bearer of Antichrist, and hath utterly forsaken the catholic faith: from whom also these ringleaders of ours[32], who now with might and main resist the gospel, and the truth, which they know to be the truth, have ere this departed every one of their own accord and good will: and would even now also gladly depart from him, if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let unto them. In conclusion, we have departed from him, to whom we were not bound, and who had nothing to say for himself, but only I know not what virtue or power of the place where he dwelleth, and a continuance of succession.

[PART VI.]

[Ch. 22. div. 2. vi. p. 504.]

[Ch. 23. div. 1. vi. p. 510.]

And as for us, we of all others most justly have left him. For our kings, yea even they which with greatest reverence did follow and obey the authority and faith of the bishops of Rome, have long since found and felt well enough the yoke and tyranny of the pope's kingdom. For the bishops of Rome took the crown off from the head of our king

[30] [Supra, vol. vi. pp. 119, 120, with the marginal references, and notes [4] and [5].]

[31] [Thus in the original.]

[32] [Apol. Lat. "coryphæi nostri."]

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[PART VI.] Henry the Second, and compelled him to put aside all majesty, and like a mere private man, to come unto their legate with great submission and humility, so as all his subjects might laugh him to scorn. More than this, they caused bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, to be in the field against our king John, and set all the people at liberty from their oaths, whereby they ought allegiance to their king: and at last, wickedly, and most abominably, they bereaved the king, not only of his kingdom, but also of his life[32]. Besides this, they excommunicated and cursed king Henry the Eighth, that most famous prince, and stirred up against him, sometime the emperor, sometime the French king: and, as much as in them was, put in adventure our realm, to have been a very prey and spoil. Yet were they but fools and mad, to think that either so mighty a prince could be scared with bugs and rattles; or else, that so noble and great a kingdom might so easily, even at one morsel, be devoured and swallowed up.

And yet, as though all this were too little, they would needs make all the realm tributary to them, and exacted thence yearly most unjust and wrongful taxes. So dear cost us the friendship of the city of Rome. Wherefore, if they have gotten these things of us by extortion, through their fraud and subtle sleights, we see no reason why we may not pluck away the same from them again, by lawful ways, and just means. And if our kings, in that darkness and blindness of former times, gave them these things of their own accord and liberality, for religion's sake, being moved with a certain opinion of their feigned holiness; now, when ignorance and error is espied out, may the kings, their successors, take them away again, seeing they have the same authority the kings their ancestors had before. For the gift is void, except it be allowed by the will of the giver: and that cannot seem a perfect will, which is dimmed and hindered by error.

[Ch. 23. div. 2. vi. p. 511.]

[32] [See Fuller's Church History, A. D. 1215.]

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THE

RECAPITULATION OF THE APOLOGY.

522.] THUS, good Christian reader, ye see how it is no new thing, though at this day the religion of Christ be entertained with despites and checks, being but lately restored, and as it were, coming up again anew; forsomuch as the like hath chanced both to Christ himself and to his apostles [33]: yet nevertheless, for fear ye may suffer yourself to be led amiss, and seduced with these exclamations of our adversaries, we have declared at large unto you the very whole manner of our religion, what our opinion is of God the Father, of his only Son Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost [34], of the church [35], of the sacraments [36], of the ministry [37], of the scriptures [38], of ceremonies [39], and of every part of Christian belief. We have said, that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old heresies, which either the sacred scriptures, or the ancient councils have utterly condemned [40]: that we call home again, as much as ever we can, the right discipline of the church, which our adversaries have quite brought into a poor and weak case [41]. That we punish all licentiousness of life, and unruliness of manners, by the old and long continued laws, and with as much sharpness as is convenient, and lieth in our power [42]. That we maintain still the state of kingdoms, in the same condition and plight wherein we have found them, without any diminishing or alteration, reserving unto our princes their majesties and worldly preeminence, safe and without impairing, to our

[33] [Vol. iv. pp. 6—15.]
[34] [There are no words here in the Lat. Apol. alluding to the third Person of the blessed Trinity.]
[35] [Vol. iv. pp. 16, 17.]
[36] [Ib. pp. 21—25.]
[37] [Ib. pp. 17—20.]
[38] [Ib. p. 20.]
[39] [Ib. pp. 25, 26.]
[40] [Ib. pp. 29, 30.]
[41] [Ib. p. 35.]
[42] [Ib. p. 37.]

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possible power[42]. That we have so gotten ourselves away from that church, which they had made a den of thieves, and wherein nothing was in good frame, or once like to the church of God, and which, themselves confessed, had erred many ways, even as Lot in times past gat him out of Sodom, or Abraham out of Chaldea, not upon a desire of contention, but by the warning of God himself[43]. And that we have searched out of the Holy Bible, which we are sure cannot deceive, one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's church[44]. And in very truth we have not tarried for in this matter the authority or consent of the Tridentine council, wherein we saw nothing done uprightly, nor by good order: where also everybody was sworn to the maintenance of one man: where our prince's ambassadors were contemned: where not one of our divines could be heard, and where partstaking and ambition was openly and earnestly procured and wrought: but, as the holy fathers in former time, and as our predecessors have commonly done, we have restored our churches by a provincial convocation[45], and have clean shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound: who also had no manner of thing like, neither to Christ, nor to Peter, nor to an apostle, nor yet like to any bishop at all[46]. Finally, we say, that we agree amongst ourselves touching the whole judgment and chief substance of Christian religion, and with one mouth, and with one spirit, do worship God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore, O Christian and godly reader, forasmuch as thou seest the reasons and causes, both why we have restored religion, and why we have forsaken these men, thou oughtest not to marvel, though we have chosen to obey our master Christ, rather than men. Paul hath given us warning, how we should not suffer ourselves to be

[42] [Ib. pp. 39—44.] [43] [Ib. pp. 44—53.] [44] [Ib. pp. 53—70.]
[45] [Ib. pp. 70—87.] [46] [Ib. pp. 87—91.]

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carried away with such sundry learnings, and to fly their companies, in especial, which would sow debate and variances, clean contrary to the doctrine which they had received of Christ and the apostles. Long since have these men's crafts and treacheries decayed, and vanished, and fled away at the sight and light of the gospel, even as the owl doth at the sunrising. And albeit their trumpery be built up, and reared as high as the sky, yea even in a moment, and as it were of the own self, falleth it down again to the ground and cometh to nought. For you must not think that all these things have come to pass rashly, or at adventure: it hath been God's pleasure, that, against all men's wills wellnigh, the gospel of Jesu Christ should be spread abroad throughout the whole world at these days. And therefore men, following God's biddings, have of their own free will resorted unto the doctrine of Jesus Christ. And for our parts, truly we have sought hereby, neither glory, nor wealth, nor pleasure, nor ease. For there is plenty of all these things with our adversaries. And when we were of their side, we enjoyed such worldly commodities much more liberally and bountifully than we do now. Neither do we eschew concord and peace, but to have peace with man we will not be at war with God. The name of peace is a sweet and pleasant thing, saith Hilarius: but yet beware, saith he, "peace is one thing, and bondage is another." For if it should so be, as they seek to have it, that Christ should be commanded to keep silence, that the truth of the gospel should be betrayed, that horrible errors should be cloaked, that Christian men's eyes should be bleared, and that they might be suffered to conspire openly against God: this were not a peace, but a most ungodly covenant of servitude. There is a peace, saith Nazianzen, that is unprofitable; again, there is a discord, saith he, that is profitable. For we must conditionally desire peace, so far as is lawful before God, and so far as we may conveniently. For otherwise Christ himself brought not peace into the world, but a sword. Wherefore if the pope will have us be reconciled to him, his duty is first to be reconciled to God. For from thence,

[Hil. contr. Arian. sub init.]

[Greg. Naz. l. 203.]

Matt. x. 34.

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[Ad Flor. Puplan. p. 122. ad Pomp. p. 141.]

saith Cyprian, spring schisms and sects, because men seek not the head, and have not their recourse to the fountain (of the scriptures), and keep not the rules given by the heavenly teacher. For, saith he, that is not peace, but war; neither is he joined unto the church, which is severed from the gospel[47]. As for these men, they use to make a merchandise of the name of peace. For that peace, which they so fain would have, is only a rest of idle bellies. They and we might easily be brought to at-onement, touching all these matters, were it not that ambition, gluttony, and excess did let it. Hence cometh their whining, their heart is on their halfpenny[48]. Out of doubt their clamours and stirs be to none other end, but to maintain more shamefully and naughtily ill gotten things.

[De lapsis p. 186.]

Now-a-days the pardoners complain of us, the dataries, the pope's collectors, the bawds, and others which take gain to be godliness, and serve not Jesus Christ, but their own bellies. Many a day ago, and in the old world, a wonderful great advantage grew hereby to these kinds of people. But now they reckon all is lost unto them, that Christ gaineth. The pope himself maketh a great complaint at this present, that charity in people is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye? Forsooth because his profits decay more and more. And for this cause doth he hale us into hatred, all that ever he may, laying load upon us with despiteful railings, and condemning us for heretics, to the end, they that understand not the matter may think there be no worse men upon earth than we be. Notwithstanding, we in the mean season are never the more ashamed for all this; neither ought we to be ashamed of the gospel. For we set more by the glory of God, than we do by the estimation of men. We are sure all is true that we teach, and we may not either go against our own conscience, or bear any witness against God. For if we deny any part of the gospel of Jesus Christ before men,

[47] [This quotation is made up from several distinct passages.]

[48] [Apol. Lat. "animus est in patinis."]

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he on the other side will deny us before his Father. And if there be any that will still be offended, and cannot endure Christ's doctrine, such, say we, be blind, and leaders of the blind: the truth nevertheless must be preached and preferred above all: and we must with patience wait for God's judgment. Let these folk in the meantime take good heed what they do, and let them be well advised of their own salvation, and cease to hate and persecute the gospel of the Son of God, for fear lest they feel him once a redresser and revenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himself to be made a mocking-stock. The world aspieth a good while ago what there is a-doing abroad. This flame, the more it is kept down, so much the more with greater force and strength doth it break out and fly abroad. Their unfaithfulness shall not disappoint God's faithful promise. And if they shall refuse to lay away this their hardness of heart, and to receive the gospel of Christ, then shall publicans and sinners go before them into the kingdom of heaven.

God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open the eyes of them all, that they may be able to see that blessed hope, whereunto they have been called: so as we may altogether in one glorify him alone, who is the true God, and also that same Jesus Christ, whom He sent down to us from heaven, unto whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be given all honour and glory everlastingly. So be it.

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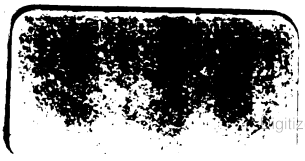

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